

SECOND PRELIMINARY REPORT ON THE
RESTORATION OF THE FRESCOES
IN THE KARIYE CAMII AT ISTANBUL
BY THE BYZANTINE INSTITUTE
1955

PAUL A. UNDERWOOD

THE paintings to be dealt with in the second preliminary report * on the restoration of the frescoes in the Parecclesion of the Kariye Camii are found in the vaults and lunettes of the western bay beneath the dome, and on the walls of the apse and the bema to the east. The paintings comprise the four figures in the pendentives of the dome, four scenes in the soffits of the two arches that support the dome, the scenes in the two lunettes between the arches, figures of six Church Fathers on the wall of the apse, and the full length standing figure of the Madonna and Child on the south wall of the bema.

As in previous years, Mr. E. J. W. Hawkins, Assistant Director of the Institute's field work, was general supervisor of all work in the Kariye Camii, while the execution of the technical work of restoration of the frescoes was under the direct supervision of Mr. Carroll Wales ably assisted by Mr. Constantine Causis and Mr. Charles Tauss. Grateful acknowledgement is made to Mr. George L. Stout, Director of the Isabella Gardner Museum of Boston, for his invaluable counsel and assistance in technical aspects of the work, and for his supervision of the temporary removal of certain areas of fresco and plaster in preparation for the reinforcement of the transverse arches that support the dome. The Byzantine Institute again wishes to express its appreciation for the continued support of the Bollingen Foundation, the Samuel H. Kress Foundation, and other individual benefactors, upon whose generous help depend the results thus far achieved. It is impossible to express due gratitude to the officers of the Turkish Government for their unfailing courtesy and encouragement in the conduct of this and other undertakings of the Byzantine Institute. Particular acknowledgement should be made to Bay Feridun Dirimtekin, Director of Ayasofya Museum, and to the Ministry of National Education and the Directorate General of Museums of the Turkish Republic.

FOUR POET-HYMNOGRAPHERS IN THE PENDENTIVES (Figures 1-12)

The pendentives beneath the dome contain the seated figures of four poet-hymnographers, dressed in the costumes of monks, each engaged in the act of composition. Even before their cleaning and repair (figs. 1-4),

* The "First Preliminary Report," dealing with the frescoes in the vaults of the bema and the dome, was published in *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*, numbers 9 and 10 (1956), pp. 253-288. For these paintings, a description of the Parecclesion in which they are found, and a general discussion of their condition and treatment, the reader is referred to that publication.

the four could be identified by their inscriptions as St. John Damascene (NE.), St. Cosmas the Poet (SE.), St. Joseph the Poet (SW.), and St. Theophanes (NW.).¹ The poor structural condition of the southern halves of the two transverse arches has resulted in considerable loss in the SE. and SW. pendentives (figs. 2 and 3). By the end of the season of 1955 the temporary removal of frescoes in these and other areas had been completed in preparation for the structural repair of the arches. The frescoes affected by the fracturing of the arches are not, therefore, in their final state of restoration. Figures 6 and 7 illustrate parts of the areas where previously existing patching plaster and some areas of painted fresco were removed.² The paintings are in very dissimilar states of preservation. Theophanes and, indeed, the entire northwestern pendentive (fig. 8) are in good condition, rivalled only by that of the figure of Cosmas (fig. 7) despite complete losses along the arch to the left. In both figures the heads are well preserved. Both John Damascene (fig. 5) and Joseph (fig. 6), however, have suffered rather severe effacement throughout, most regrettably in the heads.

Strongly reminiscent of the evangelists who are so frequently represented in pendentives,³ each poet bends forward at his work and is surrounded by the furniture and materials of a scriptorium (figs. 5–8). Fantastic architecture and occasional trees are used at each side to fill out the upper angles of the pendentives. The figures, slightly larger than life size, are arranged so that St. John Damascene and St. Cosmas, in the eastern pendentives, face inward toward one another. The other two are faced toward them and thus turn their backs on one another. In this way the painters gave an eastward direction to the paintings of the pendentives.⁴

John Damascene (figs. 5, 9)

Dressed in the costume of a monk, John of Damascus interrupts his writing to sharpen a reed pen. The beginning of the composition on which

¹ They had been properly identified by A. Rüdell, *Die Kahrie-Dschamisi in Constantinopel* (Berlin, 1908), p. 12, where their previous identification is attributed to Th. Mühlmann and A. Leval in *Archiv für kirchliche Kunst*, 1887, nr. 4, p. 28. Three of the hymnographers, but erroneously called church fathers, are correctly named by M. Alpatov, "Die Fresken der Kahrie Djami in Konstantinopel," *Münchener Jahrb. der bildenden Kunst*, VI, Heft 4 (1929), p. 362.

² On completion of structural repairs the frescoes will be put back.

³ It is perhaps this similarity that led some writers to assume that the figures in question were evangelists. See, for example, A. van Millingen, *Byzantine Churches in Constantinople* (London, 1912), p. 329; E. Mamboury, *Istanbul touristique* (Istanbul, 1951), p. 301.

⁴ It will be seen that this arrangement is meaningful also in regard to historical chronology, the two earlier monks being represented in the eastern pendentives.

he is at work rests on a lectern before him. He is depicted seated in a wide chair with a curved back, feet and knees spread widely apart, and stooping slightly forward as he holds the pen in his left hand and the knife in his right. His costume consists of tunic, scapular, mantle, and the turban-like headdress which only he among the four monks wears over his head. He wears nothing on his feet, a point which again distinguishes him from his companions.

The long, loose tunic with wide sleeves is painted in red-violet, now somewhat paler in value than it was originally owing to the loss of much of the original surface. The scapular (ἀνάλαβος) is painted in lapis lazuli. The long front apron of this garment, which passed over the shoulders and down the back, is visible only above and below the extended right arm. Over this he wears a mantle (μανδύας) which is yellowish green of a deep value though much of the surface paint has been lost. The mantle, which covers his shoulders and back, has slipped around to his left, and is fastened only at the top. The two black cords with which he could draw his mantle about him⁵ are shown hanging loose in great loops around the knees. They converge at a point behind the arm and pass through a series of small ringlets to disappear under the mantle at the top and pass around his neck. His costume is completed by the turban wound around his head. This was originally painted a very light blue with more intense blues for the lines of the folds. The turban is folded so that a triangle is formed at the right side of his head to cover the ear and the nape of the neck.

Of his features only the faintest traces remain upon the flesh-colored underpainting, but it can be said that he had a moderately short beard. In contrast, the painting of his feet is relatively well preserved while that of the hands is slightly less so.

The nimbus is outlined by a white line and, within this, by one in brown. No traces of gilding have survived, and the field of the nimbus is now yellow ochre.

Most of the colors used in the furniture have not proved durable. Only the light yellow applied to the thin front edge of the back of the chair and to the small visible areas of the seat has retained its original condition. For the rest, the chair was painted in middle values of yellow and in yellow-browns which have suffered much loss of surface. The same light yellow that has survived in the chair was also used for the tops of the footstool and the table, and again it has proved more enduring. The side rails and

⁵ This function of the cords is well-illustrated, for example, in an almost contemporary fresco at Staro Nagoričino depicting the monks Prochor of Pčinja and Joachim of Ossogovo. See *Mon. Serbica Artis Mediaevalis*, I (Belgrade, 1933), pl. VII, 2.

legs of the footstool and the table have suffered very badly, and thus some details of the table are almost lost. Faint traces of paint indicate that in the two exposed side rails of the table small openings originally gave access to a lower shelf. In the left end of the table one opening was formed with a double cusping at the top similar to that in the seat on which St. Cosmas (fig. 7) is seated. The rail at the right had a rectangular opening in the center on each side of which was a small opening with semicircular head. on the other. An extension of the straight side becomes a long sharp point. into a small and a large compartment. This was certainly a container for inks, probably black and red. Hardly distinguishable except on close examination, are two other instruments of the scribe which lie upon the table: a pair of dividers and, beside it, a flat sharp-edged blade. Both are of metal, painted a blue gray. The blade is curved and sharpened on one side, straight on the other. An extension of the straight side becomes a long sharp point. The blade was used for erasures on parchment, and its pointed end for pricking preparatory to ruling lines on the pages of a manuscript.

Standing on the top of the table is a double lectern painted in the same colors as the other pieces of furniture. On the side which slopes toward John lies a long narrow piece of parchment folded three times (fig. 9). In the two upper sections of the parchment John has inscribed the opening words of his "*Idiómela* for the funeral service."⁶ The inscription, in five lines, can be transcribed as follows, with ligatures resolved:

ΠΟΙΑΤΟΤ
 ΒΙΟΤΤΡΤ
 Φ
 ΑΜΕΝΕΙ
 ΑΤ⁷

The first line is clearly preserved, while the second, with the exception of the first two letters which are rather faint, is legible on close inspection. These two lines occur above the upper fold of the parchment. Of the third line, only the *phi* is traceable with any degree of certainty, but the fourth line, while very indistinct, is definitely decipherable. Enough, however, was preserved to identify the text without the slightest doubt.⁸ No restoration or strengthening was undertaken for this inscription or for any of the others upon the scrolls or codices of the hymnographers.

⁶ *Ἰδιόμελα ἐν ἀκολουθίᾳ τοῦ ἐξοδιαστικοῦ*. Migne, *P.G.*, 96, 1368.

⁷ *Ποία τοῦ βίου τρυφή διαμένει λύπης ἀμέτοχος . . .* "What joy of life remains without its share of sorrow . . ." Accents and breathings are omitted in the transcription.

⁸ It is regrettable that photographs do not sufficiently indicate the parts of the inscription that are very faint. Full-size tracings were made of this inscription and the identification of the text of John was made from them.

The only other inscription in the pendentive is the name of the figure represented.⁹ On removal of the overlying whitewash it appeared clearly preserved except for a few very small losses due to flaking. These have been filled in, in a different value of white.

Cosmas the Poet (figs. 7, 10)

The inscription identifying St. Cosmas in the SE. pendentive is completely preserved, but the part which recorded the name, to the left of the figure, is not in situ in the accompanying illustration which was taken after the removal of certain sections of the frescoes in the arch and pendentive.¹⁰ It reads 'Ο ἅγιος Κοσμᾶς ὁ ποιητής. The Cosmas here represented is the monk-hymnographer who became Bishop of Mayuma. He is referred to in the *Synaxarium Constantinopolitanum*¹¹ and other sources by exactly the same title given him in this inscription. In the *Synaxarium* the lives of both Cosmas and John of Damascus¹² stress the close relationship between the two monks, who are shown facing one another as companions in the pendentives.¹³ They embraced the monastic life together, and in the life of John it is said that both were inspired to sing of the Godhead and of the Theotokos in many troparia and canons. Indeed, Cosmas was the foster brother of John, having been adopted by John's father, and both were schooled together in their youth in Damascus. They must have been very nearly the same age, reaching maturity before the middle of the eighth century.

Seated on a low table, Cosmas holds an open codex in his lap, his left hand resting lightly on it. His right arm is extended over a work table at the left, in parts of the fresco that have been removed, as he dips his pen in a container of ink.

He is clad in a blue-gray tunic of the same type worn by John of Damascus. The front apron of his scapular emerges from beneath the mantle at the chest and passes under the codex to reappear between the knees. It is painted a reddish violet color similar to that used in John's tunic. A garment of lapis lazuli, which covers the head and has a wide collar, is worn over the scapular, for it passes under the mantle at the neck. It is not clear whether this was intended to represent a cowl or whether it is a large scarf

⁹ The characters average .047 m. in height.

¹⁰ *Supra*, pp. 175, 176.

¹¹ *Acta Sanctorum* Novembris, Propylaeum (Brussels, 1902), col. 395.

¹² *Ibid.*, cols. 278, 279.

¹³ Their presence here together as companions is not unique in art. They face one another in a miniature in the Menologium of Basil II, *Vat. gr.* 1613, p. 213.

drawn over the head and formed into a collar by winding about the neck. In any case, it differs in some respects from the head-covering of his companions. The mantle is worn in the same manner as John's, and is similar to it in color (green) except that the modelling and the highlights are toward whites, while in John's they tend toward yellow. On his feet Cosmas wears black pointed slippers.

The head and features of Cosmas are rather well preserved, still retaining most of the red on the cheeks and forehead, as well as the *terre verte* in the modelling of the face. The moderately long dark beard is rendered in very deep brown with the highlighting in blue. Some of the highlights are so light that they approximate white.

The exposed front edge of the codex (fig. 10) is painted a dark red with a few parallel lines indicating the pages in a still darker red. The open pages are painted a very light gray, and on the left hand page, partially covered by the hand, are four rather wide bands of a darker gray. Cosmas is depicted as he is about to begin the composition of a hymn, for there are no inscriptions on the pages of his book.

The furniture is painted in the same colors that were used in all four pendentives: i.e. yellows and browns. In this pendentive the poet is seated upon a table, his feet upon a footstool. At the left ¹⁴ is a work table, on the top of which is a rectangular pen-and-ink container, in two compartments. The larger compartment contains a pen. There are also on the table a round ink pot, perhaps for red ink, a knife similar to the one held by John, and an object that must have been a type of scraping instrument with a wooden handle like one found on the table near Theophanes. Part of this instrument is lost. The table itself has a lower shelf with openings on its sides. In one of these is painted a flask partially filled with red ink.

Joseph the Poet (figs. 6, 11)

The least well preserved painting of the hymnographers is that of Joseph ¹⁵ in the southwestern pendentive. As can be seen in figure 3, the architectural setting which doubtless filled the angle at the upper right is lost, owing to the serious fracture of that part of the western arch, while figure 6 shows that a narrow strip of existing fresco, along the edge of the

¹⁴ In parts of the fresco that were temporarily removed. The table was not complete, for the fracture in the arch to the left had caused the total loss of some areas.

¹⁵ Usually referred to as Josephus Hymnographus (ninth century). Of Sicilian origin, he is said by the *Synaxarium Constantinopolitanum* (*op. cit.*, col. 581 ff.) to have spent some time in the Peloponnese and, as a monk, in Thessalonica before going to Constantinople where he achieved fame as a writer of hymns.

lost areas, has been temporarily removed. However, the plaster on which the important parts of the composition were painted is still intact, although the surface painting has suffered badly.

Joseph is shown seated and facing left in an eastward direction toward Cosmas, his back turned toward his pendant in the other western pendentive. He bends forward and, with both hands, he holds an unfurled scroll and reads what he has written.

Unlike his companions, Joseph has dispensed with his mantle, thus revealing the scapular and tunic. The original color of the tunic is preserved only in one small area on his left hip where a little of the greenish brown paint still exists. The rest of the garment has lost almost all the surface paint, and only traces of the underpainting, in brown umber, still dimly record something of the drawing for the garment. The scapular has fared better. It was painted solidly in black, and over this a sparing use was made of lapis lazuli. Joseph's scapular is seen to be a garment that was put on over the head, and rests upon the shoulders. The two aprons fall down the front and back, and are held together under the arms by straps. Attached at the back of the opening for the neck is the hood (*κουκούλλιον*) which, instead of being pulled up over the head, hangs down over the back. On the hood is painted a small red cross, each of the four arms, in turn, being formed into a smaller cross. On his left foot, the only one visible, Joseph wears a black pointed slipper like those of Cosmas.

Only faint traces of the cartoon underpainting for the head are now visible, although some of the features are dimly suggested (fig. 11). The beard was short, of the type characteristic of Peter.

The furniture that surrounds Joseph was painted in the same colors and has been subject to the same deterioration that occur in the two pendentives previously described. Joseph sits upon a cushioned chair which is provided with a low straight back and two curved arms. Under the seat is a shelf made accessible by small rectangular openings at the side. His feet rest upon a polygonal footstool. The table at the left is rather higher than those in the other pendentives. Resting on the table is a lectern on which lies an open codex. Originally the pages of this book contained an inscription, but all that now remains of it are such very small bits of pigment that it has become illegible.

On the lower right corner of the table, partly concealed by the scroll, is a rectangular box formed into two compartments, one for pens and the other for ink. Near it is a knife with a slightly curved and pointed blade. To the left is a round ink container, painted brown, and beyond this a pair of dividers. These instruments are all reasonably visible, but below the

knife and just above the tightly curled end of the scroll are the very dim traces of two quill pens. To the right of the support for the lectern is a flat curved blade, and to the left another pair of compasses. At the right end of the table two open doors give access to a cupboard in which can be seen two scrolls, one partly rolled, the other open. In the opening of the long side of the cupboard are two flasks for ink.

Joseph's attention is focused on the inscribed scroll (fig. 11) which he holds before him. The inscription consists of one of the verses from his Canon on the Acathistos hymn.¹⁶ It is inscribed in five lines as follows, with ligatures resolved, and accents and breathings omitted:

ΙΑΑΘΗΠΙ
ΟΝΤΟΤΚΟC
ΜΟΤΧΑΙΠΕ
ΑΧΡΑΝΤΕ
ΔΕCΠΟΙΝΑ ¹⁷

While the inscription is imperfectly preserved, enough of the black paint still remains to permit its complete decipherment with ease and certainty, especially in the last three lines which are even legible in a good photograph.

Theophanes (figs. 8, 12)

The northwestern pendentive presents the well-preserved painting of the fourth hymnographer, St. Theophanes,¹⁸ possibly selected for representation in the series, not only because of his importance as a poet and hero, but also because of his personal connection with the Monastery of the Chora. He sits facing the right toward John Damascene in the northeastern

¹⁶ *Ad hymnum Acathiston*, Canon VI, Ode 4, Migne, *P.G.*, 105, col. 1021.

¹⁷ Ἰλαστήριον τοῦ κόσμου, χαίρε, ἄχραντε Δέσποινα. "Propitiation of the world, hail, spotless Virgin." It will be seen below (note 19, and pp. 194 f., 210 f.) that the verses composed by Joseph and Theophanes make reference to one Old Testament prefiguration of the Virgin that is illustrated in the frescoes of the Parecclesion of the Kariye Camii in an iconographic program that has at least one parallel elsewhere.

¹⁸ Theophanes and his older brother Theodore, who came to be known as the *graptoi* when, in 836, their visages were branded in the renewal of iconoclastic persecutions under the emperor Theophilus, first took orders in their youth at the Palestinian monastery of St. Saba. There they became pupils of Michael Synkellos and, in 813, set out with him upon a mission to Constantinople where they were given hospitality by the Monastery of the Chora, a privilege accorded by that monastery to Palestinian monks. Upon the triumph of Orthodoxy in 843, Theophanes was appointed Metropolitan of Nicaea. Two years later he died, at the age of 67, and was buried in the Monastery of the Chora over which his old master, Michael Synkellos, presided as higoumenos. See P. S. Vailhé, "Saint Michel le synkelle et les deux frères Grapti, Saint Théodore et Saint Théophane," *Rev. de l'Orient chrétien*, VI (1901), pp. 313-332; 610-642.

pendentive. Depicted in the act of writing, he rests the open codex upon his left knee. With his left hand he holds the upper left corner of the book, and with his right he applies the reed pen to the page of his book.

He wears a blue-gray tunic with drawing and lines of deepest shadow in black, and with highlights in white. The scapular, like that of St. Joseph, has its hood attached at the back of the neck opening. The hood is partially drawn up over the back of the head. Both the hood and the scapular are of the same color, namely, a deep yellowish brown. The scapular is visible in three places: in a narrow strip passing over the shoulder from the hood to the button of the mantle, in a triangle formed by the mantle above the extended right arm, and beneath the book as its apron passes over the knee. Over the scapular the monk wears a dark blue-violet mantle which is buttoned at the breast. On his feet he wears black slippers like those worn by all except John Damascene.

Theophanes is given a rather wavy beard of moderate length. The hair is depicted as blond with much yellow and yellow-green for shading, and yellow and white for highlights.

The furnishings and writing materials that surround Theophanes, though painted in the same colors as those accompanying the other hymnographers, have remained in an excellent state of preservation. The chair has a low straight back, and the poet is seated on a blue-gray cushion. His feet rest upon a footstool. The table is entirely comparable to that of St. Cosmas. On the top is a brown pen-and-ink box with three compartments, the long central compartment containing a pen while the two small ones at the ends are filled with black ink. Another brown box with two compartments is shown at the top right corner of the table. Its small compartment is filled with red ink. A circular box of the same color is shown at the lower right corner. Between these last two boxes is a scraping knife with a short semi-circular blade and a brown wooden handle similar to the one that is found on the table of St. Cosmas. The table has a lower shelf made accessible by two openings in the long side and one in the end. In the latter is a flask partly filled with red ink. In one of the openings of the side is a bundle of scrolls, and another scroll, partly opened, lies on the table.

The edges of the open codex (fig. 12), in which the poet writes, are painted red. The open pages have a gray field bordered by white margins. The black letters of the inscription, on two pages, are quite well preserved and perfectly legible. On the verso page is inscribed *Εἰς γῆν ἀπεστρά(φημεν)*, and on the recto *παραβάντες (τοῦ) Θ(εο)ῦ*.

The inscription quotes from the first two verses of the *theotokion* that

follows the sixth ode of a Canon of Theophanes which is included in the *Euchologion* as part of the Funeral Service for Laymen.¹⁹

At the crowns of the northern and southern arches, between the pendentives, the cross axis of the dome is marked by two pin-wheel ornaments (figs. 24, 29). Each measures 30 cm. in diameter. The design is composed of a star pattern of sixteen points contained within a white circle described with a compass.²⁰ The triangles between the points of the stars are filled by three dots in white. The star pattern is divided into three concentric zones, the inner one painted in yellow ochre, the central zone in green, and the outer one in red. Each zone reproduces the points of the star pattern. The alternate halves of the points are shaded in deeper values of these colors to give the effect of folds in relief similar to a folding fan.

THE MEDALLIONS OF CHRIST AND MELCHIZEDEK (Figures 13–16)

Below the cornice of the dome, the longitudinal axis is marked by two medallions: Christ at the crown of the eastern arch, between the figures of John Damascene and Cosmas, and Melchizedek in the western, between Joseph and Theophanes.

These two figures, placed opposite one another as pendants, stand in typological relationship to one another: Christ, like Melchizedek, as priest-king, or Melchizedek as the *εἰκών* or *τύπος* of Christ, the one foreshadowing the other.²¹

The medallion of Christ (fig. 16)²² was found to be in extremely bad condition, not only in the loss of paint, but because the crown of the arch

¹⁹ See the Ἀκολουθία νεκρώσιμος εἰς κοσμηκοῦς in the Εὐχολόγιον τὸ Μέγα, ed. N. P. Papadopoulos (Athens, 1927), p. 305. The text reads: Εἰς γῆν ἀπεστράφημεν, παραβάντες τοῦ Θεοῦ, τὴν ἐντολὴν τὴν ἑνθεον' διὰ σοῦ δὲ Παρθένε πρὸς οὐρανόν, ἐκ γῆς ἀννψώθημεν, τὴν φθορὰν τοῦ θανάτου ἐκτινάξαντες. "We were turned back to the earth after having transgressed God's divine commandment; but through thee, O Virgin, we have been raised from earth to heaven, having shaken off the decay of death." It is worthy of note that the same service in the *Euchologion* also contains (p. 307) the *idiómelon* of John Damascene quoted on his scroll in the NE. pendentive. The sense of the text of Theophanes is similar to that of Joseph (pp. 182, 194 f.), and likewise refers to the Virgin in terms of one of the scenes depicted on an adjacent wall of the Parecclesion (*supra*, note 17 and figure 30). For the identification of the texts of John Damascene, Joseph, and Theophanes, I am greatly indebted to my colleague, Mr. Cyril Mango.

²⁰ The centers of the two ornaments are deeply marked in the plaster.

²¹ This is a frequent theme in exegetical literature, as, for example, in John of Damascus, *De imaginibus*, Migne, P.G., 94, col. 1361. The scriptural authority for this comparison derives from Hebrews 7: 1–16 where it is said that Christ is a priest "after the order of Melchizedek" and that "after the similitude of Melchizedek there ariseth another priest," etc. Iconographic variants of the theme appear in Christian art from early date. See Fritz Kern, *Der Rex et Sacerdos in bildlicher Darstellung*, in *Forschungen und Versuche zur Geschichte des Mittelalters und der Neuzeit* (Festschrift Dietrich Schäfer) (Jena, 1915), pp. 1–5.

²² Diameter, .60 m.

itself is shattered, and the plaster was broken into many pieces causing some areas of total loss.²³ With his left hand Christ holds a partly open scroll, the two ends rolled and slightly separated. Between the two rolled ends some small scribbles, or imitations of writing, were observed. In a particularly crumbled area at the breast, his right hand is held in a gesture of blessing with the ring-finger bent to touch the thumb. Only the cartoon drawing of the hand itself, in black lines, now remains. A small area of the flesh painting at the wrist survives. The head, though severely damaged, presents the recognizable features of Christ in his usual traits. Parts of the beard are still extant. The figure is clad in the usual chiton and himation, their material represented as golden brocade with a fine network of yellow highlights and shadows in deep blue-violet.

The nimbus was painted after the greens of the background of the medallion had been applied. In many places the yellow of the nimbus is missing and the background colors appear. The latter are of three values of green, the deepest at the center. The greens, in turn, were applied over an underpainting of blue-gray which is visible at several points, especially at short distances above and toward the center from the two inscriptions at left and right. The medallion and the nimbus were bordered by narrow white lines.

The medallion of Melchizedek (fig. 14) ²⁴ is inscribed, at the left in the background, [‘O] Δίκα[ι]ος, and at the right, Μελχι̇σεδέκ, in black letters.^{24a}

This medallion is preserved in two separate fragments owing to the total loss of a wide area through the center. Where the plaster is still intact the paint of the surface is in rather good condition. The head is entirely missing, and only one long curl of the hair is still extant over the shoulder at the right. Part of his right hand is visible at the lower left, indicating that his hand was held vertically in a sign of blessing.

The garment is painted a dark gray-black, and had a wide collar of gold brocade.

The background of the medallion was painted in three concentric zones and in three values of the same pink, the darkest at the center. Like the nimbus, it is bordered by a narrow white line.

THE SOULS OF THE RIGHTEOUS IN THE HAND OF GOD IN THE SOFFIT OF THE WEST ARCH (Figures 17, 18) and the FRAGMENT OF A FIGURE IN THE WEST TYMPANUM (Figure 19)

²³ The fresco has been removed in preparation for repairs to the arch.

²⁴ Diameter, .635 m.

^{24a} The epithet, “Righteous,” derives from the text of the Epistle to the Hebrews, . . .

In the soffit of the western arch (figs. 17, 18),²⁵ at the summit between two scenes,²⁶ is a fragment of fresco representing the Hand of God which holds the souls of the righteous and issues from the arc of heaven. Figure 17 presents the full width of the arch, and the full extent of the space available to the painting, as it was before cleaning and removal of large plaster patches that had been applied where the original painted plaster had fallen as a result of structural damage. Figure 18 presents only the extent of the surviving fragment of painting after it had been cleaned and the patches to the left had been removed.

The hand was designed to be viewed while looking up and to the west. At the eastern edge of the arch is part of the arc of heaven painted in three concentric zones of blue. Immediately below this (i.e. toward the west) the outer part of the palm of the hand is still preserved. In this portion of the hand, five souls, represented as infants bound in swaddling bands, are visible in whole or in part. What remains of the paint of the hand is yellow, but much of the surface painting, with warmer tones, has been lost. The swaddling bands of the infants are painted in greenish grays with white highlights. Three heads are relatively well preserved, and near the broken edge of the painted plaster small parts of two other heads still exist.²⁷

The tympanum at the western end of the Parecclesion (fig. 19), below the Hand of God, is penetrated by three arches supported upon two columns and by a fourth, relieving, arch above the central one. The tympanum is severely shattered owing to settlement in the foundation of the southernmost of the two columns, and, as a result, about three fourths of the original painted plaster has been lost. Only three areas of plaster survive in the lower right parts of the tympanum, but sufficient evidence exists to deter-

πρώτον μὲν ἐρμηνευόμενος βασιλεὺς δικαιοσύνης. Heb. 7: 2. “. . . first being by interpretation King of righteousness.”

²⁵ The depth of the arch measures ca. 1.70 m.

²⁶ See figs. 35 and 39, and *infra*, pp. 201 ff., 205 ff.

²⁷ The theme of the Souls of the Righteous in the Hand of God is found in fresco in other monuments. Of approximately the same date as the example in the Kariye Camii, and the one most nearly like it, is the recently discovered painting in the Church of the Holy Apostles at Thessalonika (see A. Xyngopoulos, *Thessalonique et la peinture macédonienne* [Athens, 1955], pl. 18,1 and pp. 52 f.). In later fresco painting it is found in the Church of the Assumption in Vladimir (1408, possibly restored later), and at Manastir Manasija, in Serbia (ca. 1408). For Vladimir, see *Trudy VI arkheologičeskago s'ezda v Odesse*, III (Odessa, 1887), pl. 80 facing p. 330; for Manasija, see Stanojević, Mirković and Bošković, *Manastir Manasija* (Narodni Muzej u Beogradu, Srpski spomenici V) (Belgrade, 1928), pls. 18, 19; V. R. Petković, *La peinture serbe du moyen âge*, II (Belgrade, 1934), pl. 204. At Vladimir the hand is enclosed within a medallion; at Manasija, within a cusped square mandorla which overlaps one of ovoid shape.

mine the general nature and the iconographic significance of the original fresco decoration of the tympanum and its relation to the Hand of God above it.

Around the contours of the tympanum, and around each of the small arches, was the usual narrow border of red trimmed by a white line with which all painted areas were defined. The frescoed area at the right (north), between the right-hand contour of the tympanum and the adjacent penetrating arch, contains no figure painting of any kind. It is simply treated in the usual black paint used throughout in the backgrounds. At the bottom, above the red border, is a zone of green such as occurs where figures of saints are arranged in a non-pictorial zone, and on which the figures stand.

In the small area of fresco on the impost above the right-hand column, the background is again black with a zone of green below. In this piece of fresco, however, above the zone of green, are found the lower extremities of a standing figure, feet turned toward the left to face the center of the tympanum. This figure now appears to have had three feet, one of which had been painted out by the artist in a correction of his work. The feet are clad in the same type of red buskins that the Kings, David and Solomon, wear in the Anastasis in the conch of the apse of the Parecclesion.²⁸ The same type occurs again in the representation of Solomon in the southern tympanum beneath the dome.²⁹ The hem of the garment of this figure is sufficiently well preserved to indicate a royal garment of rich brocades, again like those found in the representations of David and Solomon elsewhere in the frescoes. The impost above the left-hand column retains so little of its original painted plaster that the corresponding figure, which must be assumed to have stood there, is completely lost. Aside from these two figures, at least one of them clad in royal garments, the tympanum could hardly have contained any other representations, for there are no other suitable wall areas in the tympanum where figures or scenes could have been accommodated, punctured as it is by so many openings.

These two elements — The Hand of God in the soffit of the arch, and the standing figures below it in the tympanum — must have formed an illustration of a single theme, as is found to be the case elsewhere. An almost exact counterpart is the Hand of God at Manastir Manasija (mentioned above, note 27), where the hand is in the soffit of the western arch of the church, as it is in the Parecclesion of the Kariye Camii. At Manasija the hand is flanked, in the same arch, by two standing figures, Kings David (at the left) and Solomon (at the right) represented as prophets, each

²⁸ See the "First Preliminary Report," *op. cit.*, fig. 74.

²⁹ *Infra*, p. 190, and fig. 25.

holding an open scroll with the appropriate prophecy inscribed.³⁰ David's inscription quotes from Psalm 43 (44):23: "Awake, wherefore sleepest thou, O Lord? arise, and do not cast us off forever." That of Solomon is from *Sapientia* 3, 1: "But the souls of the righteous are in the hand of God, and the tortures of death shall not touch them." At Vladimir,³¹ the arrangement is somewhat similar, except that the accompanying figures are David and Isaiah.³² In all probability, therefore, the fragment of a royal figure on the right-hand impost in the west tympanum of the Parecclesion (fig. 19) should be identified as David or as Solomon. It is even likely that both were represented above the two columns and that they served to interpret, through their prophecies, the significance of the Hand of God above them.

FOUR SCENES OF THE BEARING OF THE ARK OF THE COVENANT AND THE SACRED VESSELS TO THE HOLY OF HOLIES IN SOLOMON'S TEMPLE (Figures 20–26)

In the two southern tympana, and the southern soffit of the arch between them, the feast of dedication of Solomon's temple is illustrated in a continuous series of four scenes. The inscriptions accompanying the scenes quote almost continuously, and with only minor changes, from the account given in III Kings 8:1–6.

The Ark of the Covenant

The first scene, to the right of the window in the left, or easternmost, of the two southern tympana, has not yet been cleaned, and is not included in this report. Its inscription, in five lines in the upper right part of the tympanum, has received preliminary cleaning which revealed some small lacunae resulting from losses of paint, but it is, nevertheless, definitely identifiable. It can tentatively be transcribed as follows: Καὶ ἐγένετο ὡς συνετέλεσε Σαλωμών τοῦ οἰκοδομήσαι τὸν οἶκον Κυρίου, τότε ἐξεκκλησίασε πάντας τοὺς πρεσβυτέρους Ἰσραὴλ ἐν Σιών, τοῦ ἐνεγκεῖν τὴν κιβωτὸν διαθήκης Κυρίου ἐκ πόλεως Δαυὶδ, αὕτη ἐστὶ Σιών, καὶ ἦσαν οἱ ἱερεῖς τὴν κιβωτὸν διαθήκης Κυρίου καὶ τὸ σκῆνωμα τοῦ μαρτυρίου. . .³³ When cleaned, the scene should,

³⁰ In Old Slavonic. See Stanojević, Mirković and Bošković, *op. cit.*, p. 49 and notes 1 and 2.

³¹ *Supra*, note 27.

³² The context of the illustration of the Hand of God at Salonika is unknown to the author.

³³ III Kings 8:1–3 and part of 4: "And it came to pass when Solomon had finished building the house of the Lord, then he assembled all the elders of Israel in Sion, to bring the ark of the covenant of the Lord out of the city of David, this is Sion, and the priests took up the ark of the covenant of the Lord and the tabernacle of testimony." It will be noted that the inscription slightly modifies the text. Although this scene is not included in this report, it was thought useful to present the tentative transcription and to call attention to

therefore, illustrate the bearing of the ark of the covenant and the tabernacle of testimony to Solomon's temple.

The Sacred Vessels (figs. 20, 21)

In the soffit of the southern half of the arch between the two southern tympana is the continuation of the preceding scene. Figure 20 illustrates the condition of the fresco prior to cleaning, and figure 21 as it was before the upper parts of the fresco were removed in preparation for repairs to the arch. The scene is, therefore, reproduced here in an unfinished state, and will be published again after its restoration has been completed.

The area of plaster above the scene, where the inscription occurred, has been lost, but the scene must be regarded as an illustration of the last half of the fourth verse of III Kings, 8 which was doubtless inscribed above it: *καὶ τὰ σκεύη τὰ ἅγια τὰ ἐν τῷ σκηνώματι τοῦ μαρτυρίου*.³⁴ The reasons for this assumption are, first, that this part of the text falls between the two inscriptions in the tympana at either side, and, second, because the painting corresponds to this otherwise missing portion of the text. The two figures represented are bearing some liturgical objects in the procession to the temple. The figure at the left carries the famous candlestick of seven branches, held in both hands before him. The figure at the right has upon his shoulders another liturgical object consisting of a trumpet-shaped vessel with two widely sweeping handles which seems to be attached to a heavy rectangular base. A large candle(?), or scroll(?), seemingly bound by a ribbon, emerges from the opening of the vessel.³⁵

The King and All Israel before the Ark (Figures 22, 24, 25) and *The Placing of the Ark in the Holy of Holies* (Figures 23, 24, 26)

The third and fourth scenes from the series depicting the dedication of Solomon's temple occur on each side of the window in the southern tympanum of the western bay.³⁶ The field of the tympanum is intruded upon by the cornice and inscription of the Tornikes monument beneath. This sepulchral monument was put in place after the frescoes had been

the identification of this part of the series of four scenes for the benefit of scholars who might be interested in the iconographic program of the frescoes as a whole.

³⁴ ". . . and the holy vessels that were in the tabernacle of testimony."

³⁵ Superficially similar vessels appear in the scene entitled "The Tabernacle of Testimony" in Curtéa de Arges, Roumania. See O. Tafrali, *Monuments byzantins de Curtéa de Arges* (Atlas, Paris, 1931), pls. 35, 2; 35 bis; and 38. None, however, is of the same trumpet-like shape, and the scroll (if that is what it is) does not appear.

³⁶ The tympanum measures 4.67 m. in width at the level of the cornice, and has a height of 2.34 m. at the center from the cornice to the top of the arch.

completed, for the area covered by it in the scene at the right was found intact and in excellent state of preservation down to the main cornice level.³⁷ The painted plaster in the corresponding part of the scene at the left had been cut away to accommodate the monument.³⁸

Figures 22 and 23 record the complete area of the tympanum before restoration was undertaken and figures 24–26 present the paintings after completion of the restoration.

The scene at the left is inscribed with the first half of verse 5 of III Kings 8, as follows: Κ(αὶ) ὁ Βασιλεὺς κ(αὶ) πᾶς Ἰ(σρα)ήλ ἔμπροσθ(εν) τῆς κιβωτοῦ.³⁹

Before a mountainous background, King Solomon leads the congregation of Israel, represented by a compact group of at least seven figures, in the procession toward the right. Solomon, his head turned toward his followers, swings a censer with his left hand and holds a lighted taper in his right. He wears imperial vestments consisting of the *divitision* and the *loros*. The *divitision* is red, decorated at the hem and in a strip down the front with gold brocades set with pearls. From the hip down this garment is relatively well preserved. It seems to have had wide blue cuffs at the wrists, as at the proper point in the right sleeve three small areas of heavy blue paint lie over the yellow underpainting and for about 3 cm. its edge is defined as it slightly overlapped the red of the sleeve.

The brocaded and pearl-studded *loros* crosses over the breast, wraps around under the arm at the right to disappear behind the figure and emerge around the hip to the front where it is folded over so that its reverse side, or backing, becomes visible. It then rises diagonally to the right to the figure's extended left wrist, from which it hangs clear of the body. The reverse side of the *loros* is painted green. The artist altered the painting of the reverse side, which he had originally made somewhat wider, by applying red and yellow paint over the green at the appropriate places along the upper edge. The green lining of the *loros* also shows in a triangle at the lower right end of the garment. The other end of the *loros* hangs down the back of the figure.

One foot of Solomon was lost when the plaster was cut away beneath for the installation of the cornice and inscription of the Tornikes monument.

Most of the final surface paint of the face is lost, and much of the terre

³⁷ Part of this area can be seen in figure 26, photographed while the cornice of the Tornikes monument was removed.

³⁸ The strip of lost plaster and paint in this area measures *ca.* .30 m. high by 1.10 m. wide. The main cornice that once ran continuously beneath the window was also cut away to accommodate the marble inscription of the sepulchral monument.

³⁹ See fig. 25. "And the king and all Israel (were assembled) before the ark."

verte underpainting has become visible. The essential elements of the features, however, are clearly distinguishable. What now remains of the hair is in reddish brown paint. The golden crown is painted yellow with drawing in reddish brown. It was ornamented with numerous pearls, clearly visible, and with gems, of which only faint traces now exist. The halo was originally covered with gold leaf. The rim is a narrow band of deep red bordered around the outside by a line of white.

No traces survive of the hand that held the taper. The latter is highly modelled by being painted green along the left edge, yellow ochre along the center, and reddish brown along the right edge. The flame is red.

The censer is a bowl-shaped vessel with a flaring base, and is painted yellow to suggest gold or brass. The drawing is reddish brown and the highlights yellow. It is suspended by three chains, each of which has a small cross at mid-point between the bowl and the handle.

The congregation of Israel is represented by three figures in the front row and a number of heads behind them. The figure at the right wears a dark tunic, visible only below the knees, which had a gold brocade hem. Over this is a dark violet mantle which covers all but the left hand. Breast high around the garment is a gold brocade band. Over the head and shoulders is a cowl-like garment of dark green. As so often happens, the head has been seriously affected by the yellow daub which had been applied over the upper part of the entire group. In consequence, only part of one face of the group retains anything but the faintest traces of cartoon drawing.

The middle figure of the three in the front row wears a dark violet tunic with a dark blue hem. His mantle is dark green with a blue band at the upper arm and a small blue design worked into the garment half way down the front. Over his head and shoulders is a gold brocaded headdress similar in form to that worn by the figure in front of him.

The last figure, at the left, stands completely free. Only the brocaded and badly weathered hem of his tunic is visible below the mantle. The latter completely covers both arms, and is painted yellow in the middle tones, brown in the shadows of the folds, and gray and white in the lights. Midway between the shoulder and elbow of his right arm is a dark violet pattern in the form of a cross. His deep violet colored headdress has slipped down over his shoulders. The face of this figure is partially preserved. Here and there between the figures small areas of the garments of other members of the congregation are visible.

Below the feet of the figures are traces of a once green zone in which the figures stood. Above this are the gray tones of an arid background

behind the figures. The shaded faces of the rocks above are treated in a grayish terre verte, but in the center, between the two leading figures, is a deep crevice of complete shadow which is painted in a very dark greenish brown. The upper faces of the rocks in the pinnacle of the mountain have highlights of white and light gray.

Behind the mountain, at the right, there emerges a tree whose trunk and branches are painted the same colors as the darker faces of the rocks. The foliage is in grayish greens of various values, and very closely keyed to the color of the rocks.

The fourth, and last, scene of the series represents the culmination of the procession, the placing of the ark of the covenant in the Holy of Holies of the temple. It is painted in the tympanum to the right of the window (figs. 24, 26).

Inscribed above it is verse 6 of III Kings 8, as follows:

Κ(αὶ) εἰσφέρουσιν οἱ ἱερεῖς τὴν κιβωτ(ὸν) τῆς διαθήκης εἰς τ(ὸν) τόπον αὐτῆς εἰς τὸ δαβήρ (sic) τοῦ οἴκου εἰς τὰ ἁγία τ(ῶν) ἁγίων ὑπὸ τ(ᾶς) πτέρυγας τῶν χειρουβίν (sic).⁴⁰

In the foreground, the priests⁴¹ are depicted in the act of placing the ark of the covenant upon an altar. Behind the altar and the ark is a cherub. Another is partly visible to the left of an architectural structure which forms a rectangular recess, or niche,⁴² which doubtless represents the sanctuary or Holy of Holies. Above, and to the left, separated from the priests by a low wall, another group of figures emerges from a gabled portico. In the upper right, along the contour of the shallow arch surrounding the tympanum, is an arc of heaven and a sharply pointed and cusped mandorla from which a ray of glory once descended to shine upon the ark of the covenant.

The most severe losses in the painting occur in the heads of all the figures, in the cherubim, the ark, and the top and right sides of the altar cloth. The area of paint in the lower left corner, where it had been protected by the cornice and inscription of the Tornikes monument and by the banked up rubble and rough plaster on top of it (see figure 23), is extremely well preserved, and continues in almost "mint" condition down to the main cornice level behind the marble slab of the inscription.

⁴⁰ "And the priests bring in the ark of the covenant into its place, into the oracle of the house, even into the holy of holies, under the wings of the cherubim."

⁴¹ They are not, however, dressed in the usual vestments of priests such as are found in the Kariye Camii in various mosaics, or in the scene of the Tabernacle of Testimony (fig. 39) in the western arch of the Parecclesion.

⁴² Compare the form of this niche with the one in figure 39 which also contains an altar.

Of the four or five men who bear the ark, two are visible in the foreground, obscuring from view all but the heads of the others. The priest at the right wears a blue-gray chiton, which gives the effect of blue, and which is visible at the right shoulder and arm, and in its lower parts. The drapery folds are indicated in black, the middle tones in a rather dark blue-gray, and the lights in white and light gray. The chiton is yellow with the drapery folds in a yellowish brown and the highlights in white. The chiton of his companion, at the left, is also blue-gray, but his himation is red-violet. Between the thigh of the first figure and the altar cloth is an area of green pertaining to the garments of one of the figures behind. The floor on which the figures stand is represented as pink veined marble.

The altar stands upon a low rectangular podium in gray, outlined and ornamented on its low vertical sides in dark gray. The altar itself has a rectangular top supported upon a single pedestal at its center. The base of the pedestal shows it to have been a violet colored stone veined in green. The altar cloth is red with a brocaded border around the bottom set with pearls in groups of four. Another border, probably in yellow and red to indicate brocade, runs around the top, but almost all its paint is lost. In the center of the receding side, at the right, is a lozenge, and in the front a circular ornament. These are now yellow and all traces of possible design within them are lost.

The ark of the covenant is depicted in its usual form — a low rectangle with a gabled cover resembling the lid of a gabled sarcophagus. It is treated here in a series of vertical bands along its long sides. Beginning at the front end, these are successively yellow (gold), blue-violet (purple), yellow, light blue, yellow, and blue-violet. The gabled end has a yellow band across the bottom, the background of the gable is blue-violet, and in its center a circular design whose paint is almost entirely lost but in which a segment of what may have been a nimbus can be faintly seen.⁴³

Of the cherub behind the ark very little paint now remains, but at the juncture of the four wings the barest traces of the face can be detected. The prevailing color that now remains is the yellow underpainting, but some small segments of the reddish brown outlining of the wings still exist.

Behind the ark and the cherub is a structure which, in plan, forms a deeply recessed rectangular niche, or sanctuary. The front ends of the two receding walls rest upon coupled columns, one of which, with its capi-

⁴³ It is in just such a place as this that one would expect to find a bust of the Virgin, so often represented upon the ark of the covenant in comparable late Byzantine cycles of pre-figurations of the Virgin, as, for example, in the representations of the Tabernacle of Witness in Curtéa de Arges, Lesnovo, Dečani, Gračanica, etc. See *infra*, notes 66–68.

tal, is seen in its full length at the far right. Parts of the two capitals of the columns at the far left are barely visible above the ridge of the ark. The shaft of the column at the right is a bluish gray veined stone; the capitals are yellow. The rest of the structure is painted in what now appears a grayish terre verte. Spanning the niche is a thin roof in the form of a barrel vault. Its exterior is treated in a scale pattern of gray slates, and what is visible of its interior surface is yellow and reddish brown.

At the left, partly cut off by the sanctuary, is the second of the two cherubim required by the scriptural texts.

A gray wall separates the foreground of the composition from a group of figures emerging from a gabled portico in the background. The leading figure of this group wears a bluish gray chiton and a yellow himation. The second figure wears a green himation and a violet head covering which has slid down over his shoulders. Figures dressed in blue and in violet are seen at left and right in the background behind the leading figure. The portico through which these figures are passing has gray walls ornamented with bluish gray capitals, and is covered by a bluish gray roof. A voluminous red drapery extends from the roof of this building to that over the sanctuary.

The arc of heaven and the cusped mandorla are painted in three concentric zones: dark gray at the center, light gray, and white. From these a widening ray of light once descended upon the ark of the covenant, but this has by now almost disappeared.

The soffits of the shallow arches that frame both the north and south tympana are decorated by a folded ribbon motif which can be seen to best advantage in figure 8. The space for this motif, between the two red borders at each side, is confined between two parallel lines of white. The edges of the folded ribbon are also bordered by white lines. The length of the ribbon itself is divided into two equal widths. In the southern arch, the inner half, next the wall, is yellow and the outer half green. The northern tympanum reverses these colors. Alternate folds are given a darker value of color to enhance the effect of perspective. The ribbons stand in a background of black, and in each triangle of the background are three white dots.

JACOB DREAMING, JACOB'S LADDER, and JACOB WRESTLING WITH THE ANGEL (Figures 27, 29, 30, 40, 41)

The inscription on the scroll of Joseph the Hymnographer,⁴⁴ quoted

⁴⁴ *Supra*, p. 182, and fig. 11.

the first verse of Ode 4 of his sixth Canon on the Acathist hymn. The text of the fourth ode, not quoted in the inscription, continues in this manner: "Hail, O Ladder that hast raised us all from earth through Grace. Hail, veritable Bridge leading all that praise thee from death to life."⁴⁵ The inscription of Theophanes (fig. 12 and note 19) also addresses the Virgin in similar terms. The imagery of the poets is set forth in pictorial form in the northern tympanum (fig. 30), beneath the dome wherein our Lady was represented as Queen of Heaven, surrounded by her angelic courtiers.⁴⁶ The allusion of the poets is, of course, to the dream of Jacob.

The northern tympanum of the western bay of the Parecclesion, shown in figures 27 and 28 before cleaning, and in figures 29-31 after its restoration, depicts, in its left or western half, Jacob dreaming, the Ladder which he saw extending from earth to heaven, and Jacob wrestling with the angel, and, in its eastern half, two incidents from the story of Moses and the burning bush.⁴⁷

In the left half of the tympanum there are three inscriptions which quote the scriptural texts illustrated in two of the three scenes involving Jacob. In the lower left, above the head of the sleeping Jacob is the following inscription:

κ(αὶ) ἔλαβ(εν) Ἰακώβ
ἀπὸ τῶν λίθ(ων)
τοῦ τόπου, κ(αὶ) ἔ-
θηκε πρ(ὸς) κε-
φαλῇ(ς) αὐτοῦ·
κ(αὶ) ἐκοιμήθη⁴⁸

To the right, between the ladder and the angel, the quotation continues:

ἐν τῷ τόπῳ ἐκέινω.
Κ(αὶ) ἐνυπνιάσθαι·⁴⁹

The third inscription, above and to the left of the arched opening, concludes the quotation, and refers to the ladder which he saw:

κ(αὶ) ἰδοὺ κλίμαξ ἑστηριγμένη ἐν

⁴⁵ Migne, *P.G.*, 105, col. 1021.

⁴⁶ See, "First Preliminary Report," *op. cit.*, fig. 86.

⁴⁷ The tympanum measures 4.67 m. in breadth along the main cornice. The measurement from the original cornice level to the crown of the arch is 2.68 m., but the later insertion of a sepulchral monument, similar to that of the Tornikes family which it faces, has reduced the height of the painting by .28 m. on the right-hand side. The tympanum is pierced by an arched opening that leads to a narrow gallery between the Parecclesion and the nave of the church, and the composition of the painting has been well adapted to this condition.

⁴⁸ Gen. 28:11: "And Jacob took one of the stones of the place, and put it at his head, and lay down to sleep."

⁴⁹ Gen. 28:11, 12. ". . . in that place, and dreamed."

τῇ γ[ῇ] ῥῆς ῥ κεφαλὴ ἀφικ[νεῖ]το εἰς τ(ὸν) οὐρανόν·
 κ(αὶ) οἱ ἄγγελοι τοῦ Θ(εο)ῦ ἀνέβαιν(ον) κ(αὶ) κατέβαιν(ον)
 ἐπ' αὐτῇ. Ὁ δὲ Κ(ύριο)ς ἐπεστῆρι-
 κτο ἐπ' αὐτῆς.⁵⁰

For the third incident, Jacob's struggle with the angel, there was no inscription.

In the lower left corner the youthful, beardless, Jacob lies upon the ground, the side of his face resting upon his right hand, his left hand drawn around beneath him clutching the edge of his himation. Behind the upper part of his body is a pile of jagged stones against which he leans, and lying before him on the ground is his stick. His chiton, visible only in the V at the breast, is green; the himation which almost completely covers him is red-violet in color, the shadows and drawing are in very deep violet and the highlights in white. As usual, the flesh colors and those of the hair have been adversely affected by the yellow paint with which the areas of the heads and hands were covered. The yellow field of the halo is bordered by lines of deep violet and white.

The rocks, painted in many and varied facets, are mainly rendered in strong yellows, the highlights in light yellow and the darkest shadows in deep red. The gnarled and crooked stick is of medium brown, its shaded face in deep red-violet and its highlights in light yellow.

Rising from behind the rocks that serve as Jacob's pillow, in a great sweeping curve that nearly parallels the contour of the tympanum, is the ladder, or, more accurately, the great curved flight of stairs on which four angels ascend and descend. The two angels at the top are ascending, the uppermost with hands extended toward the image of the Virgin and Christ child in an arc of heaven at the very end of the ladder. The second angel, while ascending, gesticulates and looks back as though speaking to the other angels who descend toward Jacob. These turn their heads to look upward at the figures above.

The rails of the ladder are pinkish brown with deep reddish brown ornamental motifs and lines painted upon the visible side. The treads are light gray and the risers are darker gray.

The arc of heaven (fig. 40) at the head of the stairs, is composed of four concentric zones of gray, deepening in value toward the center. Indeed, with the exception of the flesh tones and the haloes, the entire composition of the Virgin and Christ child in the arc of heaven is executed in grisaille. The flesh tones are mainly yellows, and differ in no significant way from

⁵⁰ Gen. 28:12, 13. ". . . and behold a ladder fixed on the earth, whose top reached to heaven, and the angels of God ascended and descended on it. And the Lord stood upon it."

the treatment of heads and hands of other figures in the paintings. The haloes of the Virgin and Christ are now yellow, but were originally covered with gold leaf. They differ from all others in being imperfect circles and in not having narrow borders. This suggests that the gold leaf, in these instances, provided the true circular outline of the haloes, and that the borders were painted upon it. The loss of the gilding would account for these irregularities and for the total absence of the cross in the nimbus of the Christ. Unusual, too, are the thinness of the paint in the inscription of $M(\acute{\eta}\tau)\eta\rho\ \Theta(\epsilon\omicron)\hat{\upsilon}$, and the absence of an inscription for the Christ child.

All the angels wear chitons of blue, visible only at the shoulder left uncovered by the himation, but only the chiton of the lowest angel has a *clavus*, which is blue-violet. The himatia of the upper and lower angels are red-violet, while that of the second from the bottom is yellow and that of the third is green. The heads of the two uppermost angels have survived in rather good condition. One of these is illustrated in detail in figure 41. The wings of the two central angels have all but disappeared but the others, done mainly in browns with blue and white underfeathers, are in fair state of preservation.

The struggle between the angel and the youthful Jacob is placed in the foreground between the foot of the ladder and the arched opening. Jacob, at the right, is clad in a chiton of deep green, rendered in four principal values, and highlighted in white. Over the green, the hem of the garment was painted as a band of yellow with drawing in dark brown, but the green now shows through to give the hem a general coloration of greenish brown. The same colors appear in Jacob's foot-wear. The himation is girded about Jacob's waist. One end is thrown over his right shoulder, and billows out behind him in the liveliness of the struggle. As was the case in the sleeping Jacob, the himation is violet, but rather deeper in hue here because of its better state of preservation.

The angel wears a blue chiton exposed to view in the lower parts and in the right shoulder and arm. As was so frequently the case, the blue is very sparingly used, applied in relatively small areas of half-light over black or gray, the effect of the blue tending to diffuse throughout the garment. Here and there, especially on the upper arm, highlights in white were added. The himation is a reddish yellow which deepens, in the darker areas, to a yellowish brown. Much of the drawing of the folds is executed in deep red. The darker parts of the wings are browns; the feathers of the under sides are painted in grays with the addition of blue in the half-lights and white in the highlights.

The ground on which these scenes occur rises from the rocks at the

foot of the ladder at the left in an undulating surface toward the right to form a hillock behind the wrestling figures. The colors of the ground are greenish grays in two principal values broken up near the bottom of the scene by undulating slopes of green applied rather thinly over the greenish gray. The sky is, of course, black. It should be remembered, however, that originally a thin application of azurite lay over the black.⁵¹ Evidences of this are found in the area of the upper inscription and below it where traces of green over the black are still visible. The azurite in these places had undergone chemical change to produce this effect.

MOSES AND THE BURNING BUSH (Figures 28, 29, 31–33, 42, 43)

Of the three incidents from the account of Moses and the Burning Bush (Exod. 3: 1–6), two are depicted in the right, or eastern, half of the northern tympanum of the western bay, and the third in the arch to the right. Figures 28 and 32 illustrate their condition prior to restoration, and figures 29, 31 and 33 as they appear on completion of the work.

Above the painting in the tympanum, fig. 31, is the following inscription:

Εἰσῆλθε Μωσῆς εἰς τὸ ὄρος τοῦ Θ(εο)ῦ Χωρήβ.
 Ὡφθῆ δὲ αὐτῷ Ἄγγελος Κ(υρίου) ἐν φλογὶ
 πυρὸς ἐκ τοῦ βάτου.⁵²

In the lower left corner is another inscription, in rather smaller letters, which is incomplete. It is unusual in that, unlike all the others, it was not painted in white impasto, but in a thin red paint.

Λύσ(αι) τὸ ὑπόδημα
 ἐκ τ(ῶν) ποδῶν σου, ὅ
 [γὰρ] τόπ(ος) ἐν [ᾧ σὺ εἶ]σ. . .⁵³

The first two lines are complete. The third line has two lacunae: γὰρ is missing at the beginning and ᾧ σὺ ἕστηκας is missing except for the first *sigma* in the latter word. The words γῆ ἁγία ἐστὶ were either never inscribed or are completely lost, for no traces of a fourth line exist.

The only other inscription in the tympanum occurs in the monogram form of Ὁ Προφήτης to the left of the mountain above Moses and the initial letter of Μωσῆς at the right.

Above the third incident, in the arch to the right (fig. 33) is the following inscription:

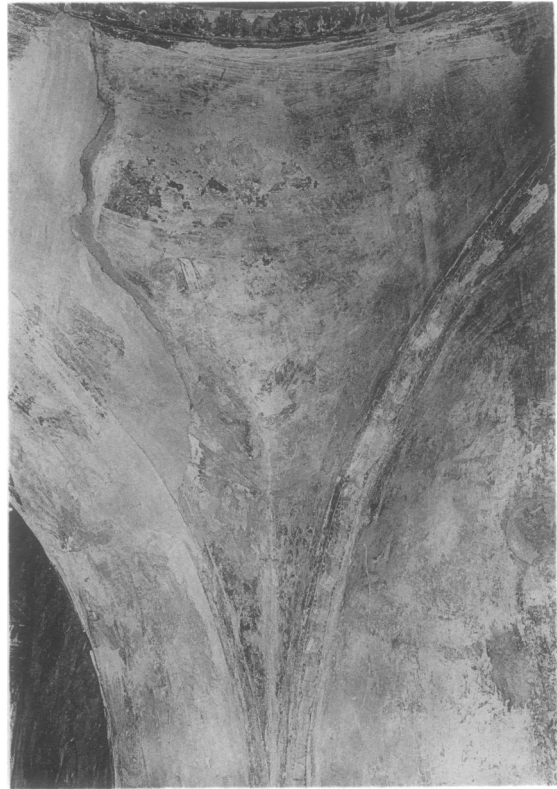
⁵¹ See "First Preliminary Report," *op. cit.*, pp. 273 f., 282.

⁵² Exod. 3:1 and 2. "Now Moses came to the mountain of God, even to Choreb. And the angel of the Lord appeared to him in a flame of fire out of the bush."

⁵³ Exod. 3:5. "Put off thy shoes from off thy feet, for the place whereon (thou standest is holy ground)."



1. Northeast Pendentive



2. Southeast Pendentive



3. Southwest Pendentive



4. Northwest Pendentive

Kariye Camii. Pendentives of Dome. Before cleaning



5. St. John Damascene. Northeast Pendentive



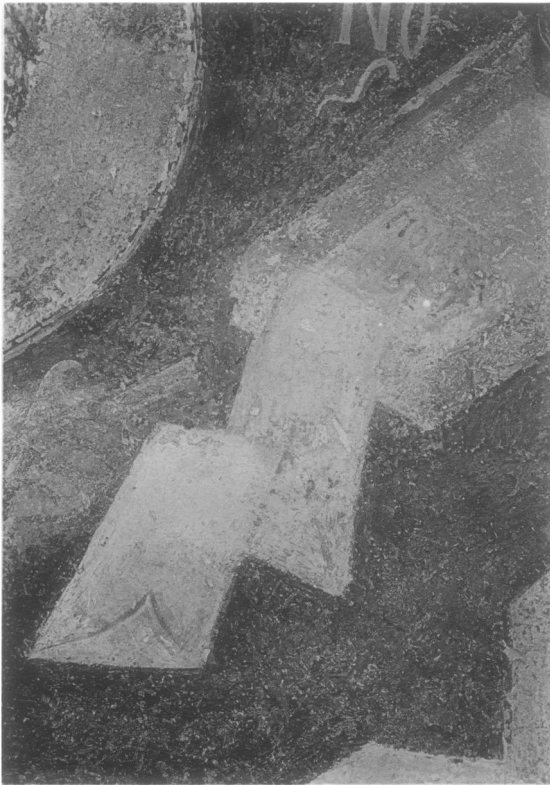
6. St. Joseph the Poet. Southwest Pendentive



7. St. Cosmas the Poet. Southeast Pendentive



8. St. Theophanes. Northwest Pendentive



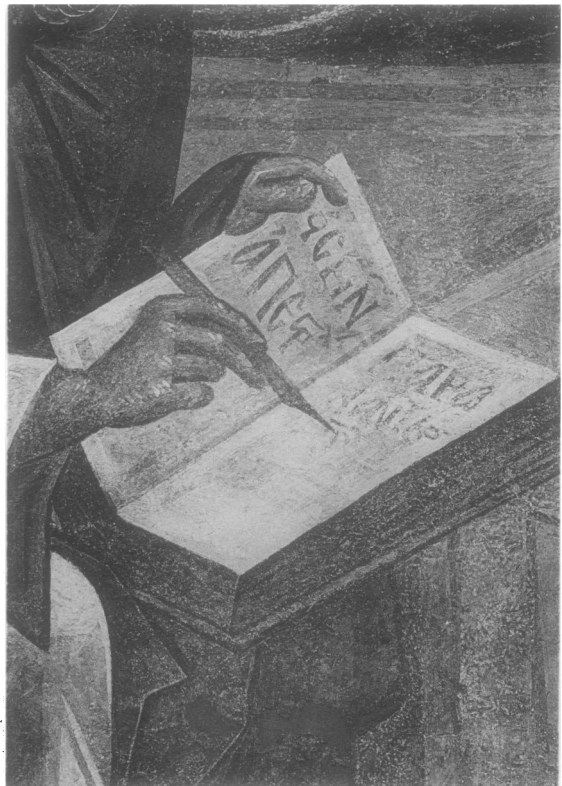
9. Scroll of St. John Damascene



10. Codex of St. Cosmas the Poet



11. Scroll of St. Joseph the Poet

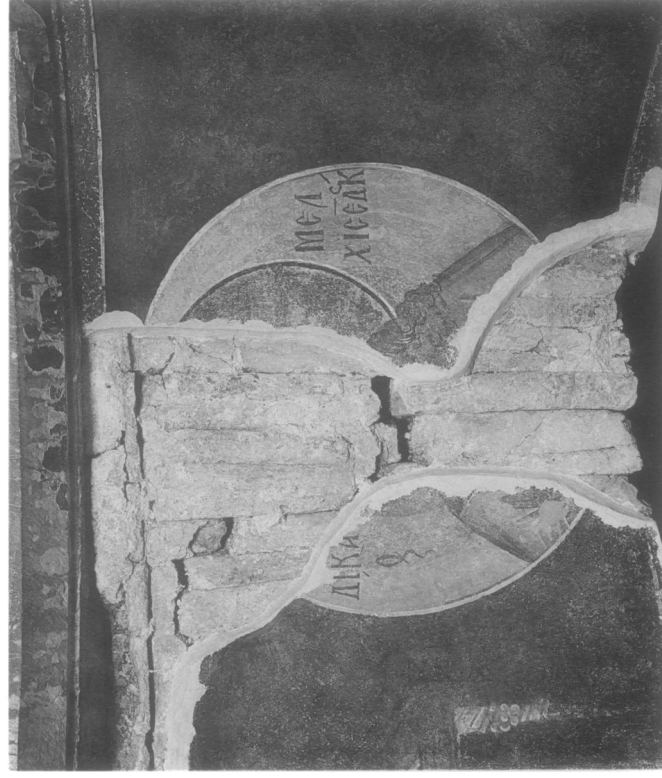


12. Codex of St. Theophanes

Inscriptions of the Hymnographers



13. Before cleaning

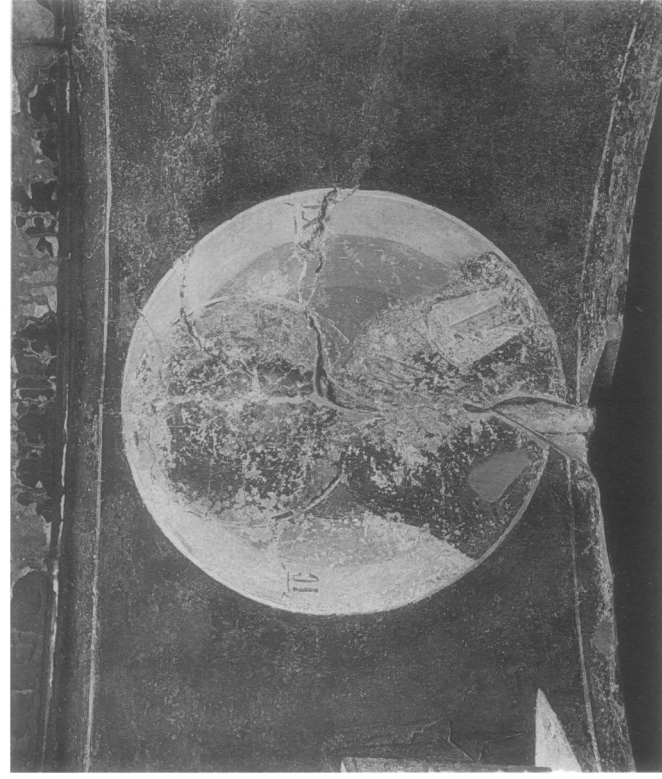


14. After cleaning

Face of West Arch. Medallion. Melchizedek the Righteous



15. Before cleaning



16. After cleaning

Face of East Arch. Medallion. Christ



17. Before cleaning



18. After cleaning

Soffit of West Arch. The Souls of the Righteous in the Hand of God



19. West Tympanum. Fragment of a Figure



20. Before cleaning



21. After cleaning

South Soffit of East Arch under Dome. The Bearing of the Sacred Vessels to Solomon's Temple

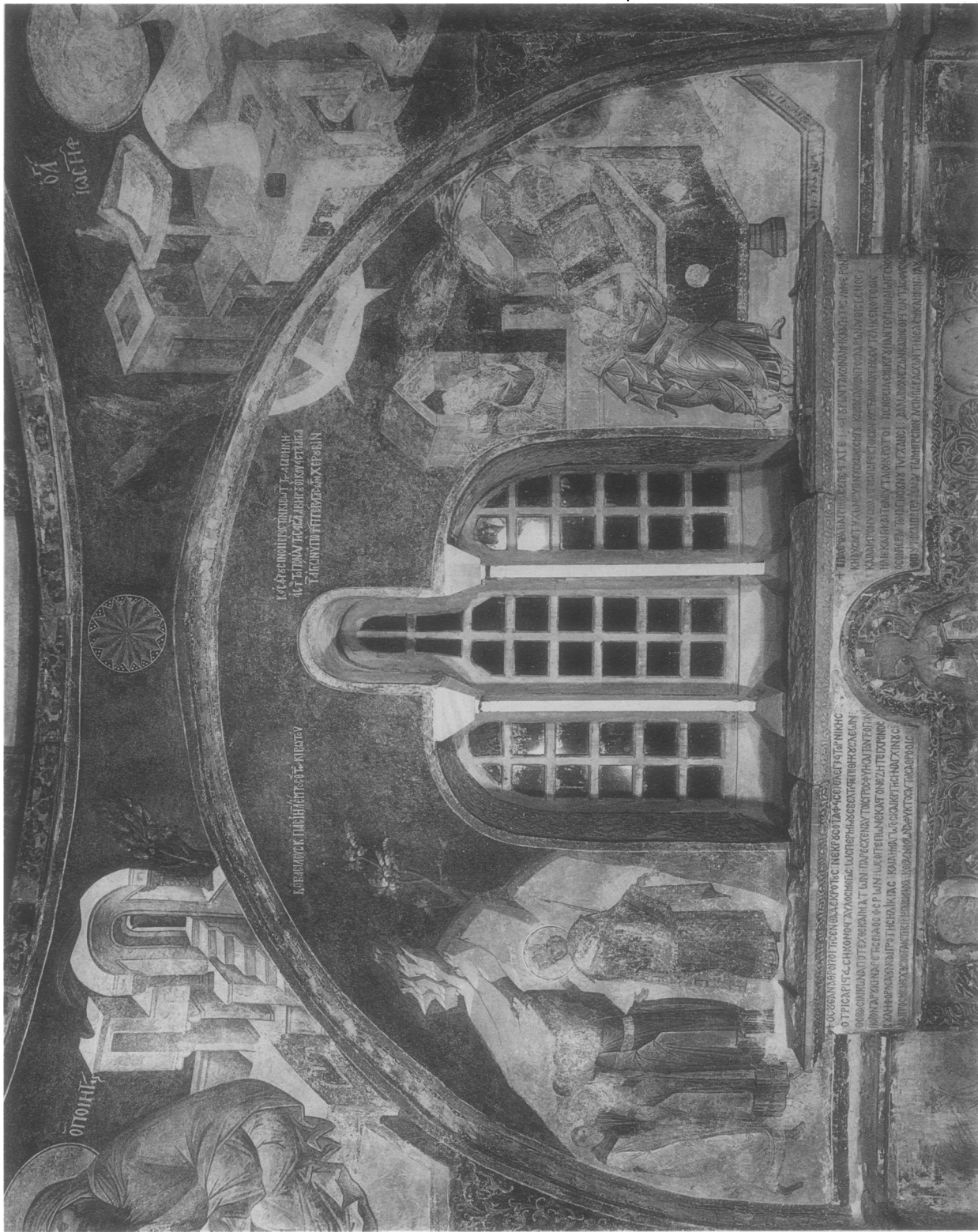


22.



23.

West Bay, South Lunette. Before cleaning



24. West Bay. South Lunette. After cleaning

King Solomon and All Israel Before the Ark of the Covenant (left). The Placing of the Ark of the Covenant in the Holy of Holies of Solomon's Temple (right)



25. King Solomon and All Israel Before the Ark of the Covenant



26. The Placing of the Ark of the Covenant in the Holy of Holies of Solomon's Temple

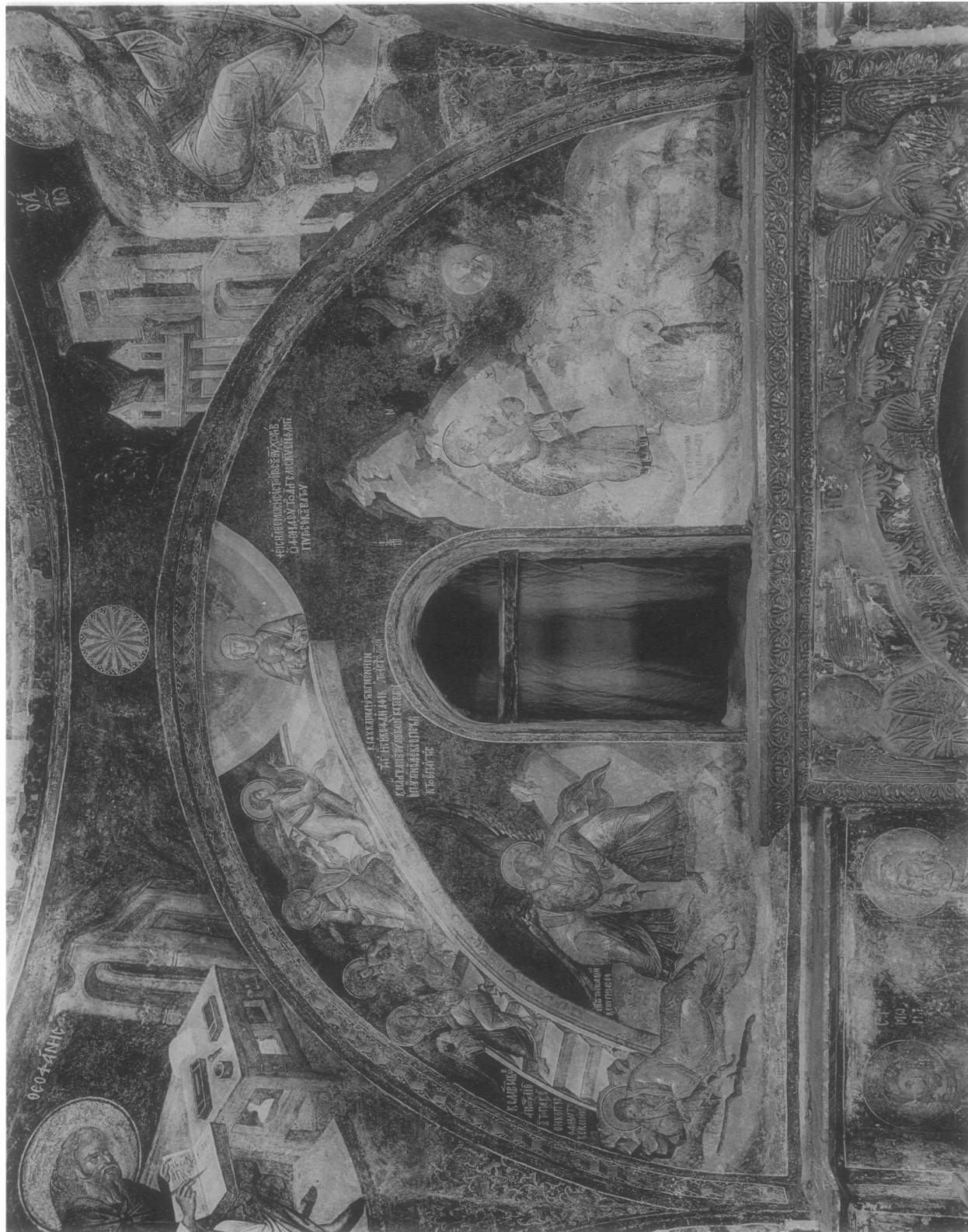


27.



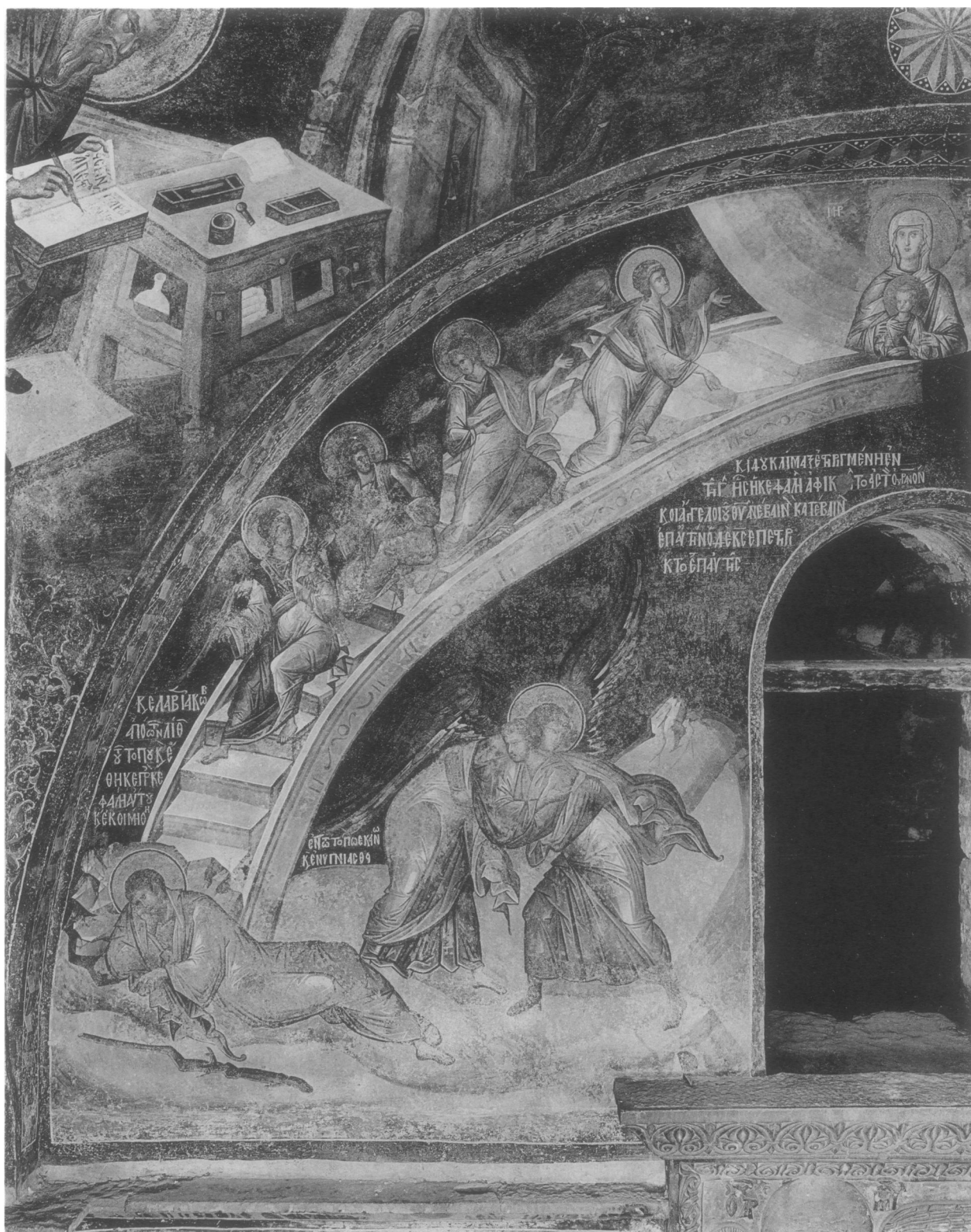
28.

West Bay, North Lunette. Before cleaning



29. West Bay. North Lunette. After cleaning

Jacob Dreaming, Jacob's Ladder, and Jacob Wrestling with the Angel (left).
Moses and the Burning Bush (right)



30. Jacob Dreaming, Jacob's Ladder, and Jacob Wrestling with the Angel



31. Moses and the Burning Bush

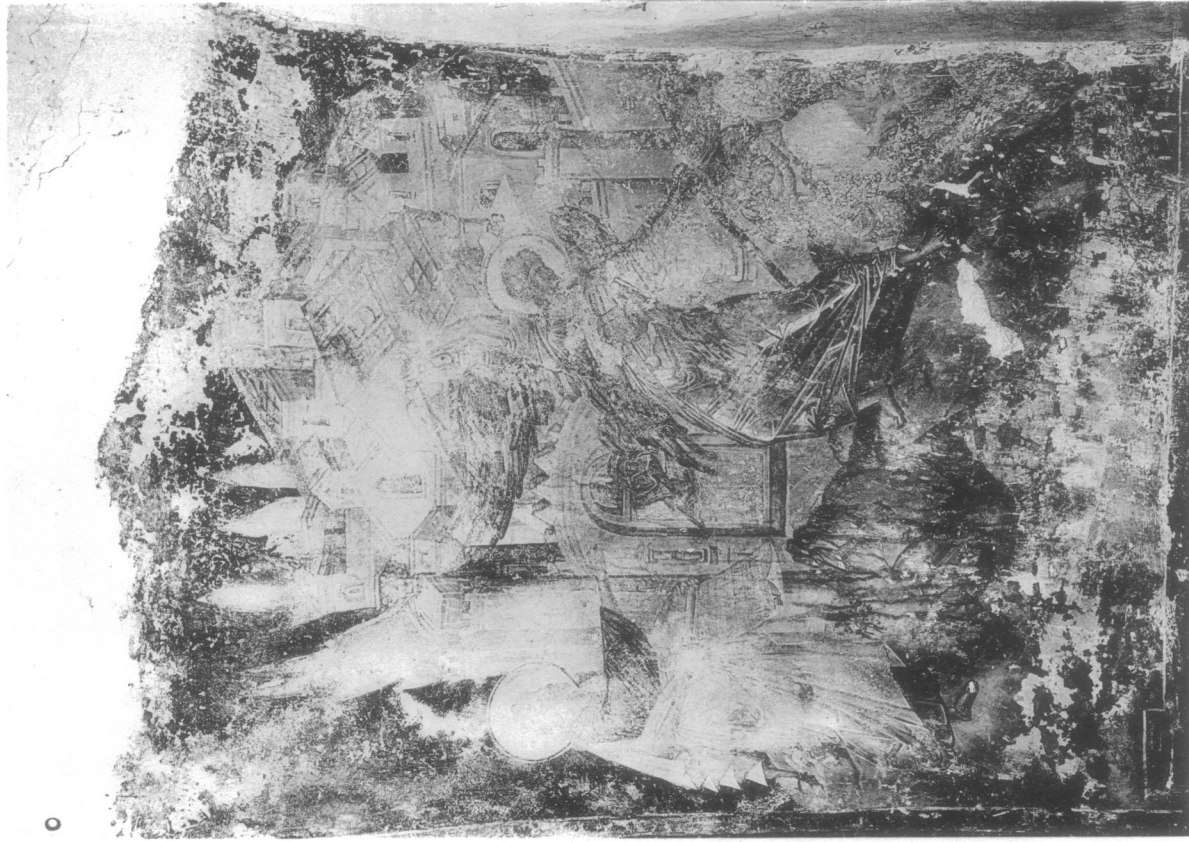


32. Before cleaning

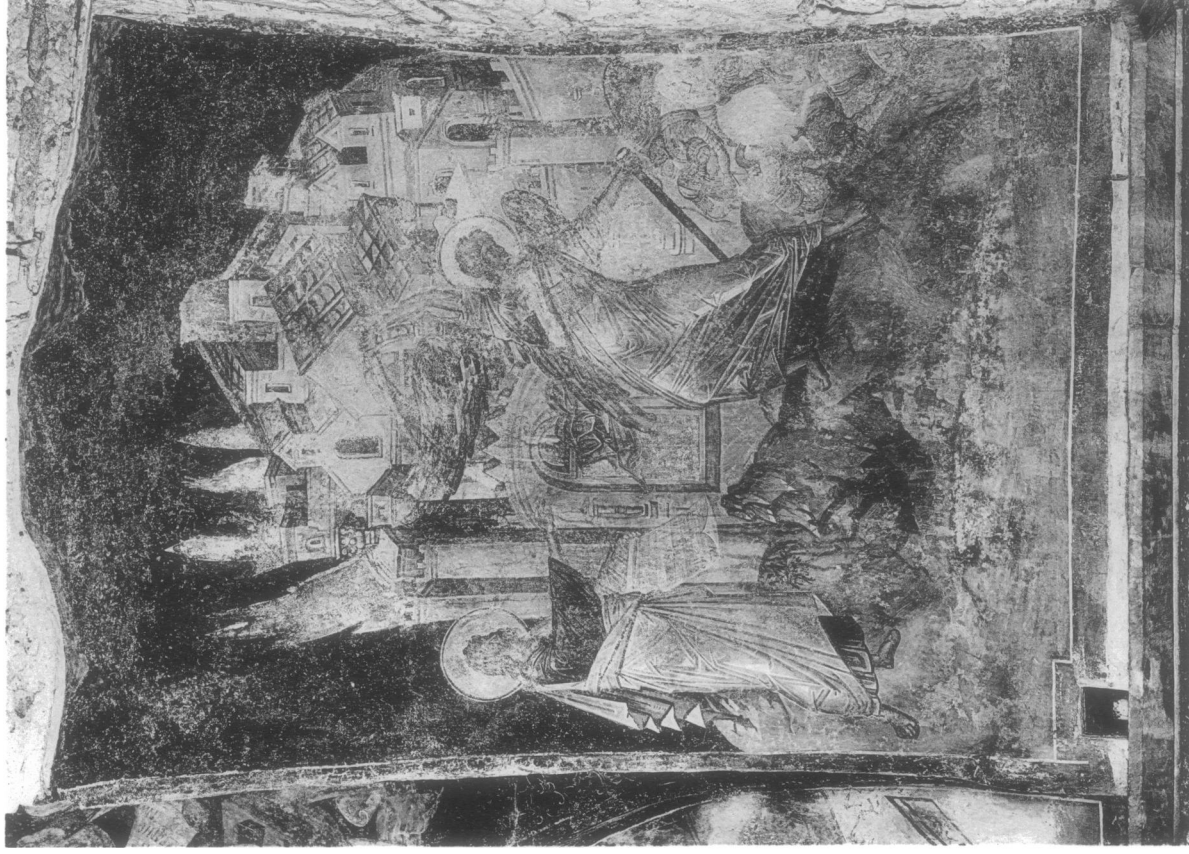


33. After cleaning

North Soffit of East Arch under Dome. Moses and the Burning Bush



34. Before cleaning



35. After cleaning

South Soffit of West Arch under Dome. Isaiah Propheying. The Angel Slaying the Assyrians before Jerusalem



36. Virgin above the Gate of Jerusalem

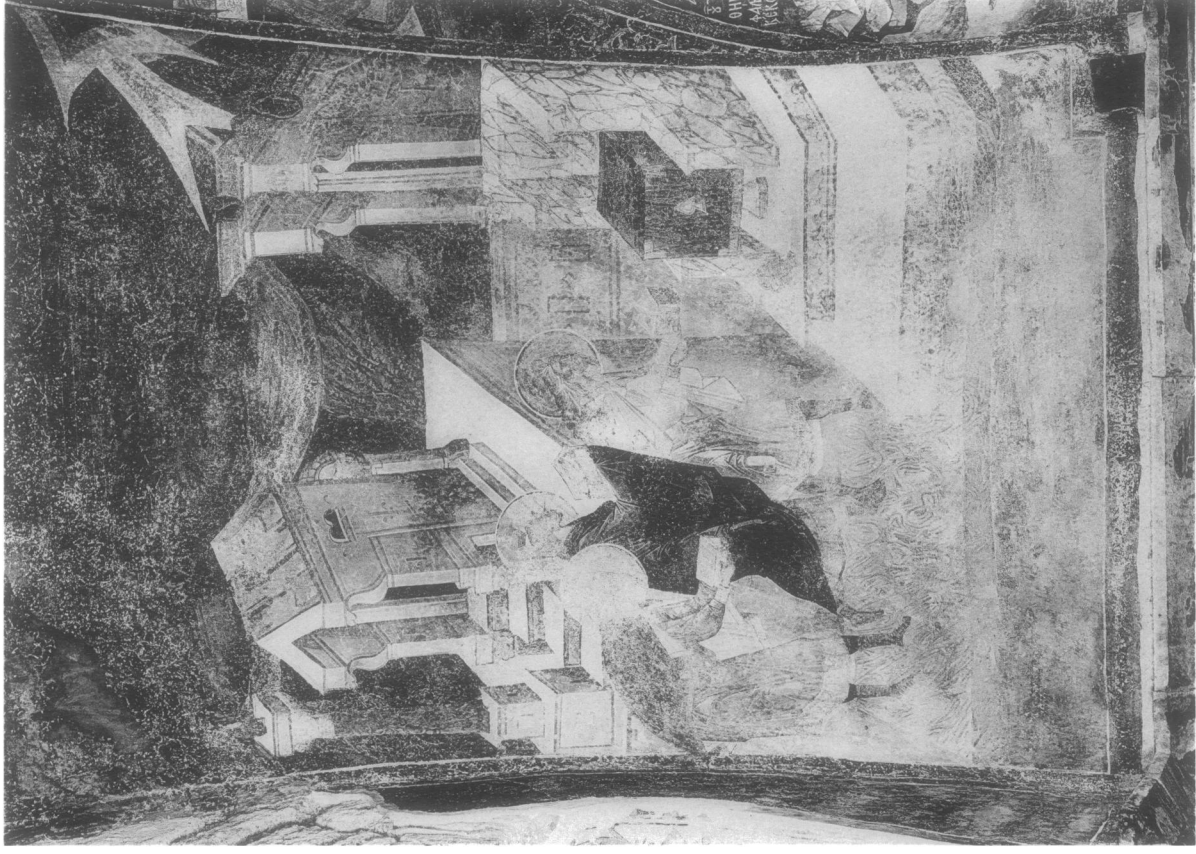


37. Inscribed Scroll of Isaiah (cf. text fig. A)

Details from figure 35

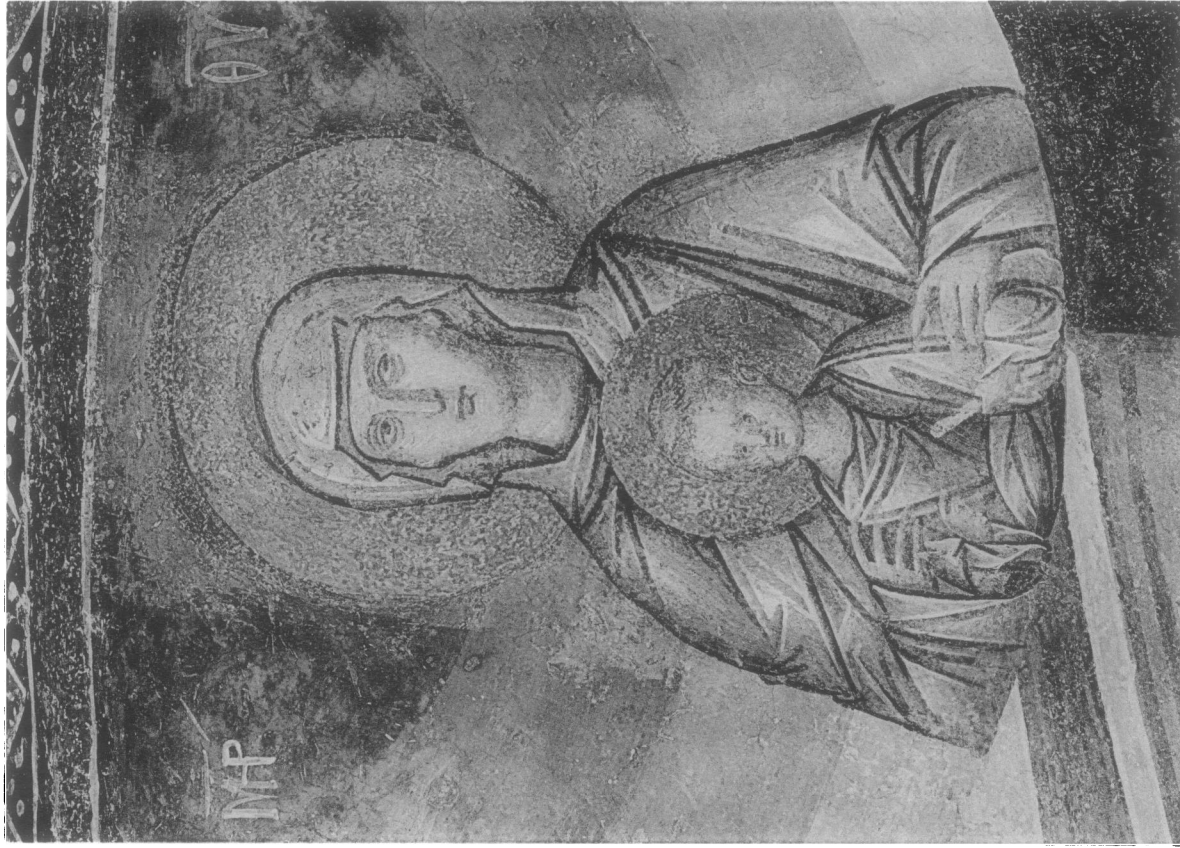


38. Before cleaning



39. After cleaning (cf. text fig. B)

North Soffit of West Arch under Dome. Aaron and his Sons before the Altar



40. Virgin and Child in Arc of Heaven



41. Head of an Angel

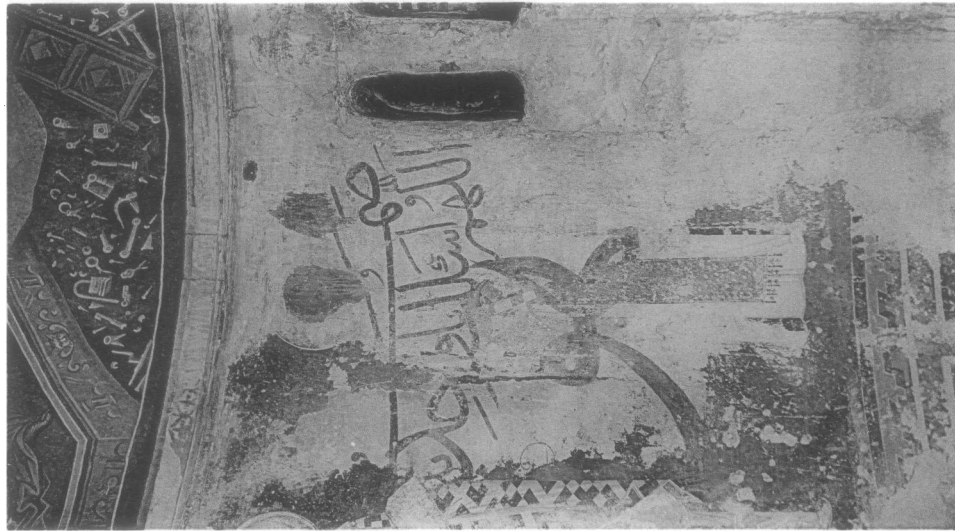
Details from figure 30



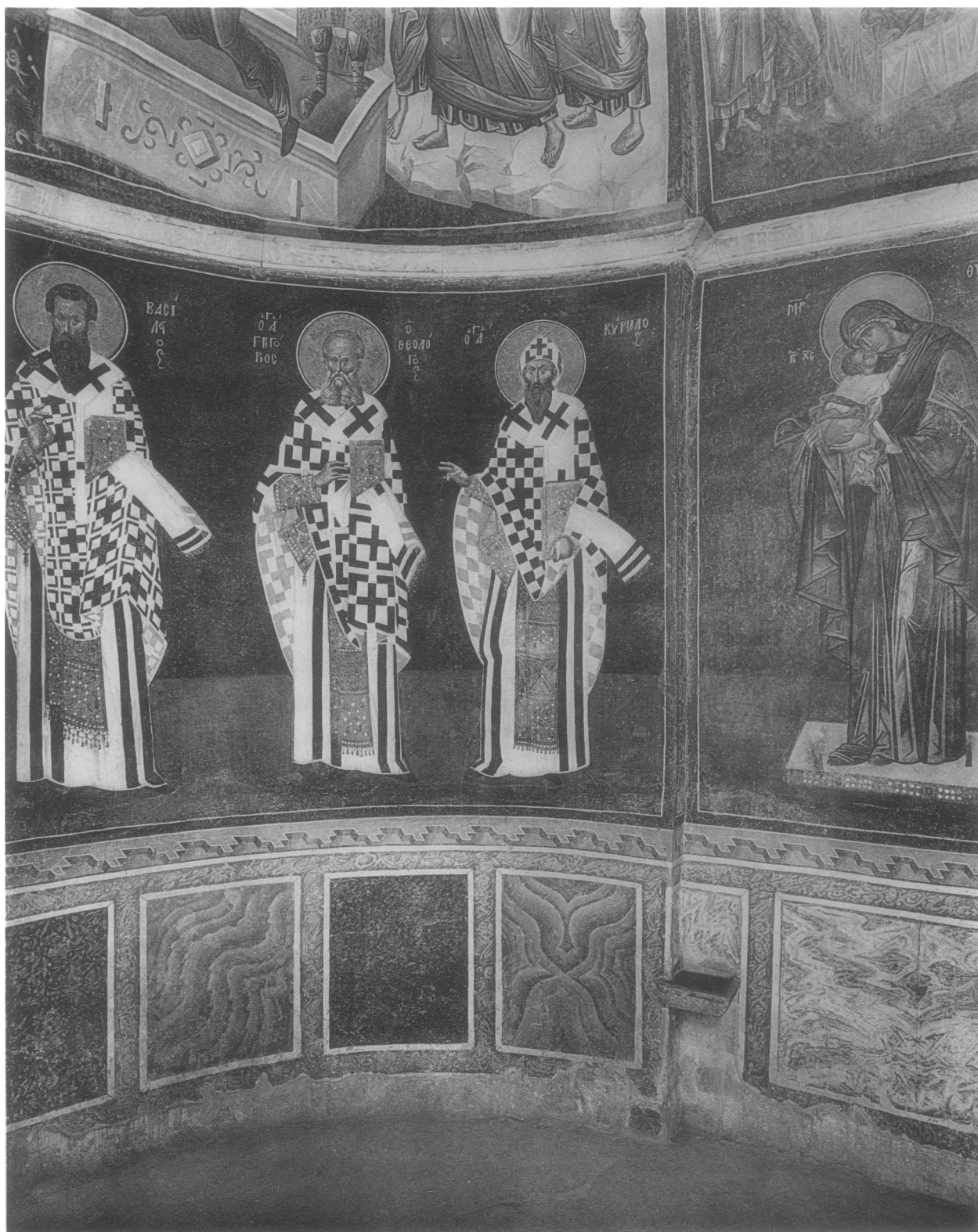
42. Angel, and Medallion of the Virgin. Detail from figure 31



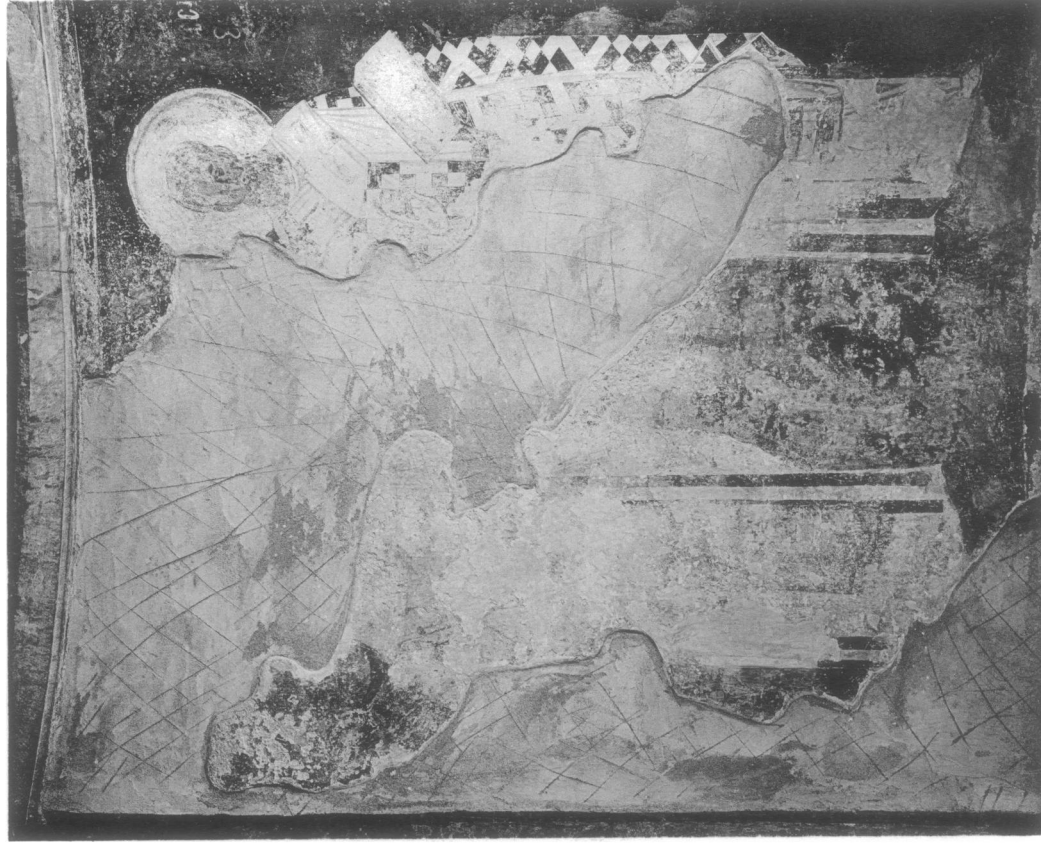
43. Angel, and Medallion of the Virgin. Detail from figure 33



44. Apse Wall. Before cleaning



45. Apse Wall. After cleaning



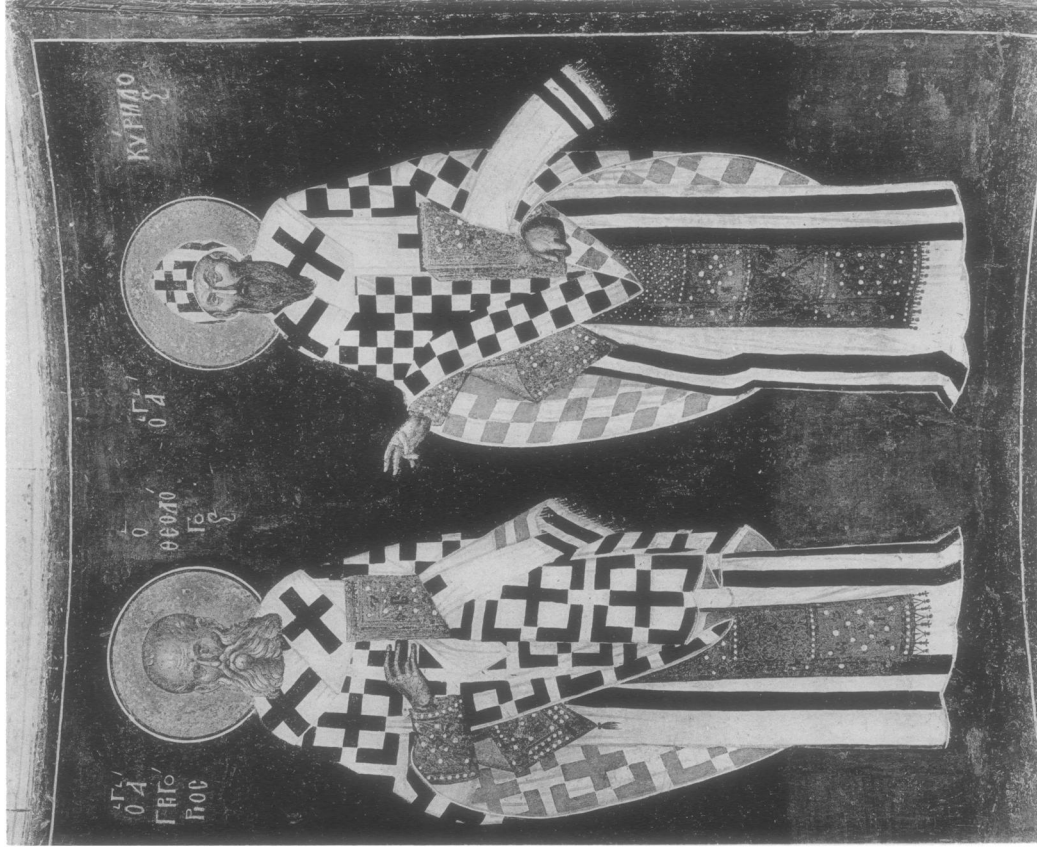
46. Apse Wall. North Side. Unknown Church Father, St. Athanasius



47. Apse Wall. North Side. St. John Chrysostom



48. Apse Wall. South Side. St. Basil



49. Apse Wall. South Side. St. Gregory the Theologian, St. Cyril



50.

Berna. South Wall. Virgin and Child



51.

Ἀπέστρεψε δὲ Μω(σῆ)ς τὸ πρόσωπ(ον) αὐτοῦ, εὐλαβέϊτο γὰρ κατεμβλέψαι ἐνώπιον τοῦ Θ(εο)ῦ.⁵⁴

The first two incidents fill the right half of the tympanum within a common background of hills, and with a single representation of the bush, the angel, and the image of the Virgin and Christ child in a medallion in the midst of the fiery bush.

Moses first stands at the left, bent slightly forward toward the right as he looks upward to the angel. His left hand is raised, palm upward; his right is clenched, grasping the folds of his himation before him. He is dressed in a blue chiton visible only at the left shoulder and at the hem. In the painting of the himation, yellows, browns, and green (possibly *terre verte*) were used. Except for the heavy whites used in the highlights, the garment now appears sombre in color owing to its present poor state of preservation. As it now appears, the middle tones are greenish yellow, the darks an umber which now gives the effect of brown, and the lighter tones yellow ochre. The piece of drapery that hangs from his hands is the best preserved passage, and gives a nearly correct impression of the original. The most badly affected area is the lower part of the garment which now gives an erroneously yellow impression.

While the hair has suffered badly, the face of the standing Moses is in a fair state of preservation. It is clear in this representation, unlike the other two where all evidence is lost, that he wears a short beard.

The angel and the medallion of the Virgin and child (fig. 42) are painted entirely in *grisaille*. The former is remarkably well preserved, the only loss being in the wing at the left between the halo and the angel's right arm. The gray tones in which it is painted are cool, though in the flesh and the lower part of the drapery it becomes slightly warmer. The medallion of the Virgin has not fared as well, though it too, in marked contrast to the surrounding areas, has proved durable. Indeed, the most severe losses are in the bush and its surroundings. The only place where an impression of its general appearance can be gained is in an area of about 40 cm. in diameter immediately beneath the angel, where it is not badly preserved. The foliage is in greens, greenish browns, and black, and the tongues of flame are red. Many tendrils branch out from the bush, and some are being eaten by the sheep that surround its base.

To the left of the bush a ram, barely distinguishable, lies upon the ground, his head toward the bush. His horns, in brown and yellow paint, are still rather well preserved. His fleece is rendered in reddish yellow with

⁵⁴ Exod. 3:6. "And Moses turned away his face, for he was afraid to look upon God."

white. Still closer to the bush and partly obscured by a goat, is a sheep which faces the ram. The goat, with straight vertical horns and pointed beard, has his head down and turns away from the bush. He was painted in gray and black. Beneath the bush, in the lower right corner of the tympanum, is a group of six sheep, including a ram, and at the very bottom, cut off by the cornice of the sepulchral monument, can be seen the heads of a black goat and a brown dog, both very well preserved, the latter with tongue hanging out and ears flopped down. The ram has curved horns and is painted in warm grays turning into black strokes toward the belly. Above and below him are two sheep, the upper facing right, the lower to the left. These are painted in reddish yellows with legs in grays and black. In front of the lower one of these two, and facing left, are the foreparts of another sheep which eats a sprig of the bush. At the far right is still another which raises its head sharply to break off a branch of the bush. These two are painted in gray and black.

In the lower part of the tympanum, Moses, in illustration of the text inscribed to the left, sits upon the ground as he removes his sandals. One has already been removed and lies before him. Parts of his left hand can be seen loosening the laces of the sandal, and some of the outline underpainting of his right hand can be traced. His left foot is also partially preserved. He is dressed, of course, in the same garments of the same colors as before, but here they have suffered severe losses except in his left leg which is covered by the blue chiton. Of the face, only a small triangular piece of surface paint survives. It is seen at the right and includes a bit of the hair, some of the forehead, and his left eye. For the rest, traces of underpainting alone remain. Behind Moses his stick lies on the ground. It is painted blue-black on its upper side and violet on the under surface.

The background in this half of the tympanum stands in contrast to that of the left. The mount of Choreb towers above. The earth colors are brownish and yellowish gray, and the shadows and shaded areas are darker in value and more definitely brown. Indeed, very little if any of the greens found in the left side were used in the backgrounds at the right.

The third incident (figs. 32, 33 and 43) is painted in the northern soffit of the arch to the right.⁵⁵ In this scene, mount Choreb and the burning bush are repeated. Moses stands to the left almost frontally posed, his head turned to the left away from the theophany in the form of the burning bush. His right arm is raised to shield his face, and with his left hand he supports himself on his stick. His dress is like that in the two preceding

⁵⁵ Measurements: 1.025 m. wide, including red borders; 2.69 m. high, from cornice to top of inscription.

scenes, but now the chiton over his right shoulder and arm is exposed revealing a *clavus* of blue-black at the shoulder of the garment.

The bush, especially in its lower parts, is better preserved than the one in the previous scene, though rendered in the same manner and colors. The angel and the medallion of the Virgin and Christ child (fig. 43), entirely contained within the area of the bush, are again rendered in grisaille, this time in warmer hues owing to the admixture of yellow to the gray. Both are remarkably well preserved.

The mountain in the background is very much like the other, both in form and color. Much of the green of the foreground has disappeared, though it is evident in the zone across the lower parts of the painting, especially at the left beneath the figure of Moses.

The red border along the left margin of the painting, up to the juncture of the mountain and the sky, is a restoration, for the plaster along this edge of the arch had fallen away. The restored plaster was painted in red but of a lighter value than the original. Here and there in the border along the right edge of the arch are some other, small, restorations of a similar sort.

ISAIAH PROPHECYING; THE ANGEL SLAYING THE ASSYRIANS BEFORE JERUSALEM
(Figures 34-37)

In the southern soffit of the western arch⁵⁶ is the scene depicting the fulfillment of Isaiah's prophecy that the forces of Sennacherib, King of the Assyrians, would not enter the city of Jerusalem.⁵⁷ This is the only one of the scenes, above the cornice, which was found to be relatively free of the heavy coatings of paint and whitewash, and which, for that reason, had been published.⁵⁸ The identification of the subject⁵⁹ derives from the painting itself and from the inscribed scroll of the prophet, for the principal inscription above the scene, which doubtless quoted from the Septuagint, was lost, owing to the structural damage to the arch. The inscription must have occurred at the very point where the area of lost plaster began (see fig. 35). In all probability it quoted from IV Kings 19: 35.⁶⁰

⁵⁶ Width, 1.72m.; height of fresco from broken edge at the top to the cornice level, 2.51 m.

⁵⁷ IV Kings 19:20-37; Isa. 37:21-38.

⁵⁸ See, for example, Alpatov, *op. cit.*; V. N. Lazarev, *Istoriia vizantiiskoi zhivopisi*, II (Moscow, 1948), fig. 287 (retouched); S. Bettini, *La pittura bizantina* I (Florence, 1937), p. 33; A. Xyngopoulos, in *Ἐπετηρίς Ἑταιρείας Βυζαντινῶν Σπουδῶν* 21 (1951), p. 51 (line drawing).

⁵⁹ Alpatov, *op. cit.*, pp. 348-49, though uncertain of the subject, correctly identified it. Xyngopoulos, *op. cit.*, pp. 49-58, goes further, and presents some aspects of its iconographic significance.

⁶⁰ "And it came to pass at night that the angel of the Lord went forth, and smote in the camp of the Assyrians a hundred and eighty-five thousand."

The angel of the Lord stands in the center before the closed gates of a fortified city. He is poised, with sword upraised, to strike a mighty blow at a tumbled mass of fallen warriors at the right. Behind him, at the left, stands the prophet Isaiah, his right arm outstretched in the direction of the action, and in his left hand an open scroll on which are inscribed the words of his prophecy.

The prophet Isaiah is dressed in a blue chiton and orange-yellow himation. As usual, the effect of blue is achieved by the very sparing use of blue pigment in the middle tones and lower highlights upon a field of black. The highest lights are applied in white. The himation is treated in warm yellows which approach an orange-yellow in the darks. A few of the deepest drapery folds are red, while the highlights are white. In some of the contours and drapery folds, for example, down the back and calf of the leg at the left, the bottom of the gathering of the garment at the waist, and in the folds that run diagonally downward from the waist, lines of blue pigment effectively enhance the modelling of the figure.

The head of the prophet has sustained greater losses than that of the angel, and final surface paint is retained imperfectly and only in small areas around the nose and mouth. The hands are poorly preserved, but the feet, like those of the angel, are in a good state of preservation.

The inscription on the scroll of the prophet (fig. 37 and text illustration A) is so effaced, and apparently so free an adaptation of a text that it cannot be completely reconstituted. However, there can be little doubt that it derives from the text of Isaiah 37:21 and 33. The inscription is in five lines, and those parts that could be deciphered are transcribed in the accompanying drawing.^{60a} A close inspection of the painting yielded the first seven letters of the first line which would seem to have contained at least the words *τάδε λέ[γει Κύριος]*. The second line, and the beginning of the third are illegible, but probably contained *Ὁ θεὸς Ἰσραὴλ . . . περὶ Σενναχηρείμ*. The third line clearly refers to the king of the Assyrians. In the latter part of the fourth and in the final line one can see, much abbreviated, the words *οὐ[μὴ(?) εἰσ]έλθ(η) εἰς τ(ὴν) πό(λιν) ταύτ(ην)*. There can be no doubt, therefore, that the sense of the inscription coincides with Isaiah's prophecy, the latter part definitely foretelling: "the king of the Assyrians shall not enter into this city."

The figure of the angel is caught in a pose of vigorous action, with all the forms arranged to express most forcibly the power and direction of the blow that is to fall upon the Assyrians. He is dressed in a blue chiton which

^{60a} The drawing is based upon a tracing of the remnants of the inscription.

is visible only in the shoulder and sleeve at the left in an area of poorly preserved paint. The drawing and the shadows are black, some blue is used in the middle tones, and the highest lights are white. The himation is in color somewhat like the darker parts of Adam's outer garment in the Anastasis,⁶¹ that is, a yellow gray with the darker lines in a greenish brown and the strong highlights in white. The condition of the painting in this

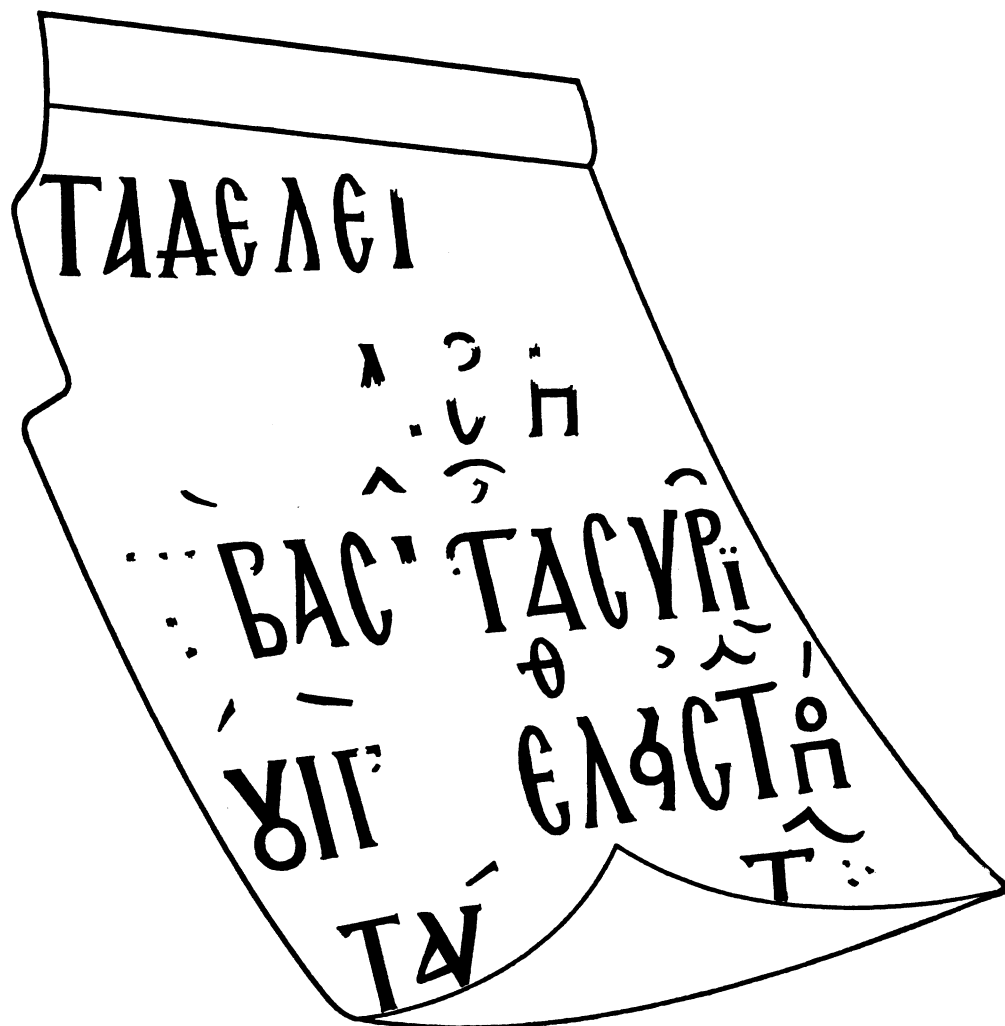


FIGURE A. Inscription on Scroll of Isaiah (cf. fig. 37).

garment is very good in the lower parts. On the breast is a rectangular patch, the tablion, painted in pink.

The underfeathers of the great outspread wings are blue-grays, the drawing very nearly black. The outer feathers were originally in yellows and browns, but are now in such poor state of conservation, especially in

⁶¹ "First Preliminary Report," *op. cit.*, p. 268.

the upper one of the wings, that one can see the underpainting for the original position of the sword, which was then bent back more sharply than in the final version. The scabbard, held firmly in the angel's left hand, is painted a dark brown.

The head of the angel, though it has suffered considerable loss of paint, especially in the hair, still retains much of the face intact. The feet are relatively well preserved.

In the center of the group of fallen warriors, at the far right, is the rear half of a white horse whose rider, as though in an attempt to escape, has covered his back with his shield. Between the foot of the angel and the horse is a crouching wounded soldier, clad in gray mail. He has lost his helmet and his bare head is exposed to attack. Above him are three helmeted warriors who have been slain, one with outstretched arm spurting blood. The arm is relieved against a dappled pink area which represents the rump of another horse. A similar pink area below the white horse may also represent a fallen mount. Here and there in the lower parts of the chaotic group are scattered shields and helmets which are painted in yellows and browns.

Across the bottom of the panel is a zone of green which merges into the yellows, browns, and greenish browns of the rocky foreground in which the figures stand. Between the two figures is a gnarled stump of a tree from which stem a few shoots of foliage. The stump is painted in black with some browns, but the stem of foliage at the left is painted mainly in greenish browns with many short strokes of heavy blue impasto to indicate leaves, and two in white to give the effect of highlighting.

Behind the figures are the crenellated walls, towers, and gates of the fortress Jerusalem. The lighted parts of the walls are painted in very warm yellows, approaching orange, much like the colors in the himation of Isaiah. The drawing and the shaded surfaces of the walls are warm yellow-browns. Tightly packed within the walls are a number of buildings, the most prominent of which are basilical in form. Behind the upraised arm of the angel is the most imposing of these. Its walls, too, are painted in the reddish yellows of the fortified walls, and its roof in blue-grays. Before the gabled end of this building is a construction that may have been the apse of the basilica or, perhaps, a domical structure. Just to the left is another smaller basilica whose walls are grayish green and whose roof is red. In other structures one or the other of these two color arrangements is used. Rising behind the left side of the city were four tall, pointed, trees, possibly cypresses, which retain some traces of green despite the almost complete loss of surface paint.

The most important and significant element of the city is the closed

gate, visible beneath the wing of the angel, and partly obscured by the angel's flying drapery. The door is set within a segmentally arched piece of the wall which is crowned by saw-tooth and rectangular battlements. The gate itself has a semi-circular arch and tympanum above the closed doors. The doors are painted an orange-red, and above, in the tympanum, was painted the bust of a nimbed figure (fig. 36) with arms extended at each side in orant attitude, quite certainly a representation of the Virgin.⁶²

AARON AND HIS SONS BEFORE THE ALTAR (Figures 38, 39)

The scene in the northern half of the western arch⁶³ has presented considerable difficulty of identification owing to the almost complete disappearance of the inscription above it, and to the uniqueness of its iconographic composition.⁶⁴

Three priests in the lower left advance reverently toward an altar at the right bearing small caskets in their hands, the foremost also swinging a censer. They stand upon a marble pavement, indicating an interior setting, and approach an altar raised upon a platform in two stages which is set within a rectangularly recessed structure similar in form to that in the right half of the south tympanum (fig. 26) in which an altar is likewise placed. Behind the figures is a fantastic architectural setting, and above and to the right a glory emanates from the arc of heaven, the rays shining diagonally downward to the left to fall upon the first of the priests.

The identification of the scene depends to a great extent upon the evidence of the inscription. It was found that the white impasto used in the

⁶² The height of the back of the tympanum itself, excluding the reveal on the upper part of the lintel beneath it (painted a dark brown), measures only .065 m., or little more than two and one half inches. The likening of Sion, or Jerusalem, to the Virgin is a well-known theme. An example comparable to the fresco in the Kariye Camii, in which a medallion of the Virgin appears upon the lofty walls of a city entitled "Holy Sion," and with a prophet (David) standing beside it, is found in a miniature in Ms. gr. 61 (a Psalter) of Pantocrator Monastery, Athos (fig. 64 in Ms., fol. 121), called to the author's attention by Professor A. Grabar. The context of this miniature is Ps. 86(87):5, "A man shall say, Sion is my mother; and such a man was born in her; and the Highest himself has founded her." The fresco at the Kariye Camii can also be viewed as exemplifying the Virgin as the Closed Door, a theme that occurs, for example, in a cycle of prefigurations of the Virgin at Lesnovo (see below, p. 211) which has a close iconographical resemblance to the cycle at Kariye Camii.

⁶³ Total width of the arch, including borders at the sides, is 1.72 m. The height from the uppermost scratch mark for the inscriptions to the cornice below, including the lower border, is 2.525 m.

⁶⁴ It will be seen below (notes 66 and 68) that other fresco cycles similar to that of the Parecclesion of the Kariye Camii exist in which the subject, *ἡ σκηνὴ τοῦ μαρτυρίου*, appears as the equivalent to this scene, but no other rendition of the subject, as far as the author is aware, presents the version found in the Kariye Camii.

painting of the letters had completely disappeared, but here and there the shiny surface of black paint, where the individual letters had been, stood contrasted to the duller black of the background around them to give some epigraphic evidence. It will be impossible, however, to reconstruct the complete inscription. Close examination of the area showed that the inscription was lengthy and consisted of four lines of text centered as a block above the architectural setting. Although the precise limits of the lines could not be determined, the distribution of the "ghosts" of the letters and the length of the fine guide lines scratched into the plaster indicate that one or more of the lines measured slightly more than 1 m. in length. There were only two short lengths of inscription where the "ghosts" of an adequate number of succeeding letters of sufficient clarity of definition gave significant words which might permit an identification of at least part of the scriptural text.⁶⁵ One of these words occurs just to the right of the presumed center of the second line, and the second at the center of the third (see illustration B in text). The first word can be read as τὸ θυσιαστή[ριον] and the second as ὀλοκαύτωμ[α].

Another approach to the identification of this scene is through a comparison of the entire cycle of Old Testament scenes of which it forms a part to similar cycles elsewhere in which the same or a similar subject might be found. One such instance is the cycle in the eastern arch of the narthex, above the entrance to the nave, of the Church of the Archangels at Lesnovo. Here, just below the cornice at the spring of the arch, on the left or northern side, is the scene usually referred to as ἡ σκηνὴ τοῦ μαρτυρίου ("the tabernacle of witness").⁶⁶ In this more usual version of the subject,⁶⁷ Moses and Aaron, as priests, are shown in the tabernacle at either side of an altar laden with the ark of the covenant and candelabra, all bearing images of the Virgin, and behind the altar, the cherubim. At Gračanica Moses carries a small casket entirely like that carried by the leading priest in the Kariye Camii fresco. These examples present a severely heraldic composition which does not illustrate a text in a strictly narrative sense. Another, more elaborate, example of this version is found in the apse of Curtéa de Arges.⁶⁸

⁶⁵ It would naturally be assumed that the text quotes from the Septuagint, for all others in the series do so.

⁶⁶ Okunev, "Lesnovo," *L'art byzantin chez les slaves. Les Balkans* (Mélanges Uspenskij), 2, Paris (1930), pl. 34.

⁶⁷ It can be found, with only minor variations, at Dečani (Petković, *La peinture serbe du moyen âge*, II [Belgrade, 1934], pl. 134; *Mon. Serb. artis mediaevalis*, II [Belgrade, 1941], pl. 269, 1), and at Gračanica (Petković, *op. cit.*, pl. 60).

⁶⁸ O. Tafrali, *Monuments byzantins de Curtéa de Arges* (Paris, 1931), pl. 34, 2. This version perhaps combines two elements from the cycle as illustrated at the Kariye Camii: The Tabernacle of Witness, and the Bearing of the Sacred Vessels to the Holy of Holies.

The central element of this composition was found to be inscribed (in Greek, later substituted in Roumanian) ἡ σκηνὴ τοῦ μαρτυρίου, and it has been suggested that the scriptural text from which this scene is derived is Leviticus 9: 1-7.⁶⁹ The accompanying drawing (fig. B) establishes the likelihood that the inscription above this scene in the fresco at the Kariye Camii quoted from this passage in *Leviticus*. In verse 7 of the passage the words τὸ θυσιαστήριον and ὁλοκαύτωμα occur. It will be noted in the drawing that the missing text between these two words can be accommodated nicely in the space available in the inscription. This evidence suggests, therefore, that the painting depicts Aaron and his two sons obeying God's and Moses' commands to approach "before the tabernacle of witness," to stand before the Lord. They "draw nigh to the altar and offer (their) sin-offering and (their) whole-burnt-offering," and make atonement, and the glory of the Lord appeared, as Moses promised. The scene is a rather literal rendition of this text, and, unlike the comparable examples cited above, it follows the text in representing Aaron and his two sons rather than Moses and Aaron.

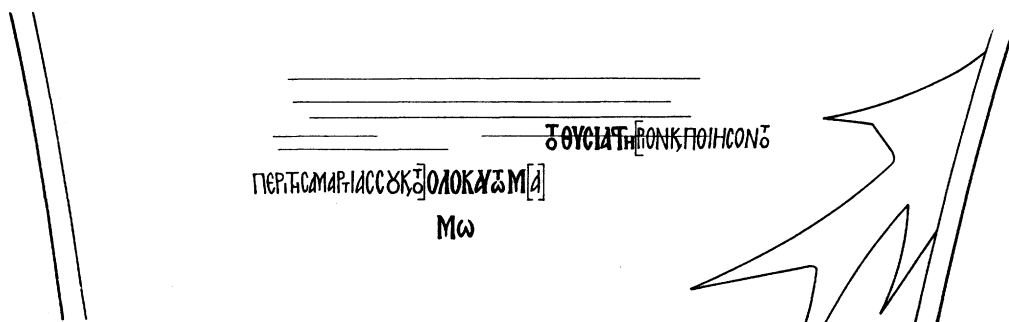


FIGURE B. Inscription in Scene of Aaron and his Sons before the Altar (cf. fig. 39).

The vestments of the priests are entirely like those worn by priests in the mosaics of the Kariye Camii.⁷⁰ The leading priest, Aaron, wears a very light blue, tight-sleeved, tunic which falls halfway between the knees and ankles. It is adorned with narrow bands of golden brocade at the cuffs and hem. Over his shoulders and back is a short green mantle fastened at the throat and parted in front by the arms that emerge from beneath it. Very little of the green paint still exists, and areas of bare plaster occur. The lining of the mantle, visible at each side of the arms, is painted a delicate shade of pink. His legs are clad in deep blue pantaloons with a narrow violet

⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 69.

⁷⁰ For example, the priests in various scenes from the life of the Virgin in the inner narthex. See Th. I. Schmit, *Kakhrie-dzhami* (Sofia, 1906) *Izvestiya russkago arkheologicheskago instituta v Konstantinopolye*, XI, Album, pls. 24, 28, 29, 31.

band near the top. The outer foot coverings, which extend halfway to the knees, are red violet with gold bands around the tops. The head is relatively well-preserved. Long hair, in browns and white, falls in curled strands over his shoulders, and he wears a pointed beard of moderate length. On his head is the small priest's hat composed of a domical-shaped crown in red, held in place by a narrow piece of blue stuff which is fastened by a button at the front, and serves as a brim. The golden casket held in his left hand is almost cubical in form, and has a flat lid with two rectangular panels. The censer, very poorly preserved, is also golden and is swung by his right hand.

The second priest, to the left, wears a rather long tunic visible only at the hem where its brocaded band can be seen. The color of the garment itself was blue, though only a small part of it can be seen. Covering most of the figure, including the hands, is the long mantle of a beautifully rich and dark blue-violet. His footwear is badly affected, but in the forward foot one sees a band of light blue. Below this it seems to have been red-violet, as is evident in the foot at the left. The hat, quite well preserved, has a cubical crown in red and a brim of blue. Of the head, very little save the underpainting survives. It can be observed, however, that the beard was somewhat shorter than Aaron's. His casket, though badly effaced, is noticeably different in form from the others. It resembles the ark of the covenant in that it is covered by a ridged and gabled lid. Some of the rough underdrawing, in green strokes, gives this design, although the final version, over it, was altered in the angles used.

The tunic of the third priest is short, like that of Aaron. It is painted a light blue, and has gold brocaded cuffs and hem, and a brocaded ornament down the front. His short mantle is red with a narrow gold border at the hem. The lining is white. The pantaloons are very deep blue-violet like the mantle of the second priest. His feet and ankles are bound in spiral bindings of blue tied in bows behind. The head, beard, and hat are almost completely effaced. The haloes of all three priests were probably covered originally with gold leaf. They are bordered by very deep red and by white lines.

The altar is a table resting on a single pedestal, like that in the south tympanum. The base, in blue and gray, is visible below the dark red altar cloth which is bordered at the bottom by a band of gold brocade. At the upper corners are gold brocade *gammās*. The altar is set within a recessed niche painted in imitation of Dokimion marble with veining in reddish violet around large areas of light gray. The upper step of the dais is greenish gray with a lighter value for the horizontal top surface. The lower step is painted in bluish grays. The marble floor on which the figures stand is

painted an orange-yellow with veining in red. Below the floor is a zone of green. The low wall in the background and the shaded faces of the tower-like structure at the right are painted a greenish yellow. The narrow, lighted faces of the latter structure are light yellow ochre, and the cornice is treated with a fret pattern in red and gold. The shaded faces of the walls of the small basilical structure at the left are grayish green, and the lighted faces are light yellow ochre. The steps and the roof are blue-gray. The podium upon which this building stands has a top surface of yellow ochre, and a receding plane, behind Aaron, of yellow-brown with grayish green lines at the coping. At the far left is a column on a two-stepped pedestal. The shaft is of greenish-brown marble, the pedestal in grays, and the capital in yellows. On top of the capital is a sharp, yellow, spike to which is attached one end of a long red drapery that passes over and behind the basilica, and spans the distance to the structure at the right. A leafy shrub rises behind the podium.

The uncovering of the frescoes has only now reached the point where the entire series of scenes in the vaults and lunettes above the cornice can be considered in context. The system and iconographic import of the fresco decoration of the Parecclesion now becomes apparent despite the fact that at present writing the restoration of the domical vault of the eastern bay, in which the subject is the Second Coming of Christ, is not quite complete, and that work on the lunettes of the north and south walls of the same bay has not been begun. The subjects of these lunettes, however, are now clearly established as the Entry into Paradise,⁷¹ and the beginning of the series depicting the bearing of the Ark of the Covenant to Solomon's Temple.⁷²

The series of fresco scenes in the chapel as a whole, to summarize briefly, contains two cycles which yet have points of iconographic contact and interplay. The theme of resurrection and Paradise at the eastern end⁷³ presents the direct and obvious message of redemption through the Son of God, and thus forms a cycle preeminently suited to the mortuary function of the chapel. And yet, the Mother of God participates in this cycle, for she is depicted as Queen, enthroned and attended by two angels in

⁷¹ In the northern lunette.

⁷² *Supra*, p. 188.

⁷³ See "First Preliminary Report," *loc. cit.*, for descriptions of the Anastasis and two of Christ's miracles of resurrection in the arch of the bema (Christ Raising the Daughter of Jairus, and Christ Raising the Widow's Son). The cycle of redemption and paradise will be completed with the uncovering of the Second Coming of Christ and the Entry into Paradise. The theme of the Souls of the Righteous in the Hand of God (*supra*, pp. 185-188), at the western end of the chapel, also belongs with the cycle of redemption.

the Paradise scene, and is present as Intercessor in the fresco of the Second Coming.⁷⁴

Nearly all the other paintings above the cornice form a cycle in praise of the Theotokos and present, as has been seen, a series of her Old Testament antitypes, or prefigurations. The image of the Virgin in the summit of the dome, surrounded by her celestial court of angels in the spaces between the ribs, serves as the main point of reference to the series of antitypes beneath.⁷⁵ The hymnographers Joseph and Theophanes hail her, and liken her to the Ladder that reaches to heaven. She is the God Bearer (a holy vessel, and the Ark of the Covenant, whence God was to make Himself known), and the Closed Door (a virgin, and yet the door through whom the Lord shall enter).⁷⁶ One scene (Aaron and his Sons before the Altar) would suggest that the Virgin is typified by the altar, the tabernacle of testimony, or, perhaps, by the whole-burnt-offering. She is also the Burning Bush that was not consumed. And yet, the theme of redemption and the mortuary character of the chapel are referred to within the compass of the cycle. It is evident that the scene of Jacob's Ladder was meant to be understood in the light of the verses of the Poets Joseph and Theophanes who viewed the Virgin as the Ladder which raises the Christian from earth to heaven, the Bridge that leads from death to life.⁷⁷ The texts of John Damascene and Theophanes are taken from funerary works composed by them.⁷⁸

A close parallel to the iconographic program of the Cycle of Prefigurations of the Virgin at the Kariye Camii, but less developed and far less elaborately presented, is found among the frescoes of the narthex at Lesnovo, painted more than thirty years after those of the Kariye Camii.⁷⁹ The cycle at Lesnovo is confined to the paintings in the soffit of the eastern arch of the narthex. At the top of the arch, to which all the scenes below refer, is the image of the Theotokos Pege, inscribed ἡ πηγὴ τῆς ζωῆς,⁸⁰ and in this respect its function is the same as that of the image of the Virgin in the top of the dome at the Kariye Camii, although the two images are of different types. At the left in the arch at Lesnovo is the scene of Jacob's Ladder, and below it Jacob Wrestling with the Angel.⁸¹ Below the latter

⁷⁴ This is not necessarily attributable to the desire of the painters to merge the two cycles, for these scenes, regardless of context, frequently include the Virgin.

⁷⁵ For the dome frescoes, see "First Preliminary Report," *loc. cit.*

⁷⁶ See *infra*, p. 211, for the analogy to the painting of this subject at Lesnovo.

⁷⁷ *Supra*, p. 195.

⁷⁸ *Supra*, pp. 178, 184, and notes 6, 19.

⁷⁹ Okunev, *op. cit.*, p. 224, gives the evidence for dating the construction of the narthex in 1349.

⁸⁰ *Ibid.*, pl. 35.

⁸¹ *Ibid.*, pl. 34.

scene is the Tabernacle of Testimony which, as has been mentioned above,⁸² is to be equated, iconographically, with the scene of Aaron and His Sons before the Altar, and which, in all likelihood, derives from the same textual source as appeared in the inscription above the scene in Kariye Camii.⁸³ To the right of the Virgin in the arch at Lesnovo is Moses and the Burning Bush,⁸⁴ and below it the scene that is often called the Closed Door, which substitutes for the scene of Isaiah Prophesying and the Angel Slaying the Assyrians before Jerusalem.⁸⁵ At Lesnovo, the prophet is Ezekiel who stands at the right bearing an inscribed scroll. Behind him is a gate with closed door, and above it in the gable is a medallion of the Virgin as was found in the gate of Jerusalem at the Kariye Camii. Christ sits at the left before a table on which is a loaf of bread. The textual source that is illustrated reads, in part, as follows: "And the Lord said to me, This gate shall be shut, it shall not be opened, and no one shall pass through it; for the Lord God of Israel shall enter by it, and it shall be shut. For the prince, he shall sit in it to eat bread before the Lord."⁸⁶ Although a different prophecy was selected at Lesnovo, it is evident that the import is very similar to that at the Kariye Camii.

This leaves unaccounted for in the program at the Kariye Camii only the series of scenes showing the bearing of the ark of the covenant and the sacred vessels to the temple of Solomon. Mere note of this is taken, however, in the narrow panel below the scene of the Closed Door at Lesnovo,⁸⁷ where two liturgical objects are depicted: a candlestick at the left and a vessel with widely flaring handles at the right, both bearing images of the Virgin. If this, together with the ark of the covenant in the scene of the Tabernacle of Testimony, where it is not called for by the text of Leviticus, can be taken as reflections of the significance of the procession to Solomon's Temple, then it is evident that iconographically the two cycles at the Kariye Camii and Lesnovo correspond extraordinarily closely, and use antitypes of the Virgin in almost precisely the same terms.

THE FRESCOES ON THE WALL OF THE APSE. Six Church Fathers: A fragmentary and unidentified figure, St. Athanasius, St. John Chrysostom, St. Basil, St. Gregory the Theologian, and St. Cyril (Figures 45–49)

⁸² P. 206, and note 64.

⁸³ *Supra*, p. 207.

⁸⁴ Okunev, *op. cit.*, fig. 165 and pl. 35.

⁸⁵ *Supra*, pp. 201 ff. and note 62. For illustration of the Closed Door, cf. Okunev, *op. cit.*, pl. 35.

⁸⁶ Ezekiel 44:2.

⁸⁷ *Ibid.*, pl. 35.

The walls of the Parecclesion, below the cornice, are decorated by a continuous frieze of saints, approximately life-size, who stand above a dado painted in imitation of marble incrustations (fig. 45).⁸⁸ The only parts of this lower zone that have thus far been uncovered are the wall of the apse and the wall of the bema at the right, beneath the scene of Christ Raising the Daughter of Jairus.⁸⁹

The condition of the surface of the apse wall before the paintings were uncovered is illustrated in figure 44. A simple outline drawing of a mihrab and three Arabic inscriptions had been painted in black over the heavy coatings of whitewash.⁹⁰ It was apparent in the left side of the apse (fig. 44) that beneath the whitewash there was a series of Church Fathers, who are so frequently found in this place, for here the obscuring whitewash had come away to some extent, and had revealed figures in episcopal vestments. Moreover, the areas of the heads of these figures, and of their accompanying inscriptions, had been crudely scraped, thus making known their identity. Very heavy losses, not only of paint but of plaster itself, have occurred in the left side of the apse, and have seriously affected the two figures at the far left (fig. 46). The large areas of lost plaster have received, at present writing, only a scratch coat of new plaster which will later be surfaced and rendered in a neutral tone.

The six Fathers were ranged in two groups of three at each side of a triple window in the center of the apse which had been partially filled with Turkish masonry.⁹¹ Very little of the Father at the left (fig. 46) now remains and he is thus unidentifiable. The second Father (fig. 46) has also suffered considerable damage, but the remains of his inscription, at the right of the head, identify him as St. Athanasius. The others are, from left to right: St. John Chrysostom (fig. 47), St. Basil (fig. 48), St. Gregory

⁸⁸ In the nave of the Parecclesion the height of the wall, to the cornice, averages *ca.* 3.73 m. In the apse, the area reported here, the height is 3.61 m. from the raised floor of the bema to the bottom of the cornice. This is subdivided into the dado (1.32 m. in height) and the frieze of figures (2.29 m. high including the red borders above and below).

⁸⁹ The corresponding painting on the wall of the bema at the left has perished completely.

⁹⁰ The top member of the mihrab bears the inscription: "There is no god but Allah and Muhammad is his prophet." At far right and left, below the level of the windows, the word *Luwa* (He) is inscribed twice. Above the mihrab is a quotation from the Koran (Surah III, vs. 37): "Whenever Zachariah went into the sanctuary [mihrab] . . ." The name of Zachariah in Arabic is misspelt. The inscriptions to the left of the windows, which are incompletely preserved, consist of invocations. The principal one reads: "O God, I ask thee [?], O Unique one [?] . . ." Above it is: "Lord Eternal" (also translated: "Eternally besought of all"). For these translations the author is greatly indebted to Dr. Richard Ettinghausen and to Dr. Harold Glidden.

⁹¹ See figs. 47 and 48 for the full width of the original window. It is planned to remove the fill to almost the full depth of the window, and thus restore something of its original appearance.

the Theologian (Nazianzenus), and St. Cyril of Alexandria (fig. 49).

The six austere figures⁹² stand frontally posed in a zone of green at their feet,⁹³ and relieved against the black of the background. Each carries a Book of the Gospels in the left hand,⁹⁴ while giving the sign of benediction with the right. All wear precisely the same types of vestments with the exception of Cyril for whom, as usual, the mitre has been added.⁹⁵ The vestments consist of the *sticharion* (the long tunic with four heavy stripes running the full length); *epitrachelion* (the richly ornamented stole, fringed at the bottom and hanging down the front almost to the feet); the *epimanikia* (or brocaded sleevelets that cover the ends of the sleeves of the tunic); the *hypogonation* (or mappula, lozenge-shaped, that hangs suspended from the girdle on the figure's right side); the *phainolion* (chasuble, or paenula, the sleeveless cloak decorated with crosses, gammas, or checkers); and the *omophorion* (a long scarf, passed around the neck, folded to make an angle over the breast, with one end hanging down the front, the other behind; ornamented with large crosses at the shoulders and with stripes and fringes at the ends).

The figures are plastically modelled primarily in the sense that their stiff vestments, especially the chasubles, provide broad planes which could be folded or curved this way and that, and thus put into perspective.⁹⁶ Upon these planes the patterns of crosses, checkers and gammas could likewise be put into perspective to correspond to the directions of the folds and facets of the vestments. The tunics, chasubles and *omophoria* are white with ornaments painted in deep red or black. These garments are somewhat modelled by the sparing use of shading, for the folds, in two colors: in some figures, a warm but rather pale gray, in others a grayish yellow. In each figure the coloring of the ornaments on the white is alternated in the three garments, and this color arrangement is reversed in alternate figures. Athanasius, Basil and Cyril (who alternate with others) have black stripes on their tunics, dark red ornaments on their chasubles, and

⁹² Average height of figures: 1.90 m.

⁹³ About .58 m. high. In the field of green to the right of the window (fig. 48) is a graffito giving the name Angelo Pantalo and the date 1479. To the left of the window a star is scratched into the plaster.

⁹⁴ St. John Chrysostom holds the book with both hands.

⁹⁵ In accordance with the tradition that Pope Coelestine I had authorized him to wear it when he charged Cyril to preside, in the Pope's name, over the Council of Ephesus. Cf. P. Bernardakis, "Les ornements liturgiques chez les Grecs," *Echos d'Orient*, V (1901-02), p. 134. For terminology used below in describing the vestments of bishops, see the article of Bernardakis which has also been heavily drawn upon by S. Salaville, *An Introduction to the Study of Eastern Liturgies* (London, 1938).

⁹⁶ Notice especially the treatment of the chasubles of St. Basil and St. Gregory (figs. 48 and 49).

black crosses on their *omophoria*. In the other three the colors are reversed. In the well-preserved right-hand side of the apse there is a further alternation, doubtless repeated in the left, in the impressive beards of the three Fathers. Those of Basil and Cyril are long, rather pointed, and extremely dark,⁹⁷ while that of Gregory, who stands between them, is square, curly, parted in the center, and yellow in the middle tones, white in the highlights, and warm brown in the shadows. St. Gregory is also differentiated from the figures on each side in that the shading of his drapery folds is grayish yellow and much warmer than that of his two companions.⁹⁸ As a type, St. John Chrysostom is unique among the five surviving Fathers. A very domically shaped head rests upon a very thin neck. The hair and beard are thin and short and painted in reddish brown.

As a guide to the painting of the more intricate patterns that appear in the chasubles of St. Athanasius (fig. 46) and St. Basil (fig. 48) the painter first incised into the plaster a grid-system of lines for each of the individual folds of the garment, the direction of the lines being adapted to the direction in which the fold hangs and to its projection or recession, thus adapting the pattern to conform to the desired modelling of the garment and the figure. In the chasubles of the other figures, where simpler patterns at larger scale were used, the guide lines were dispensed with. They are not, however, as successful in the effects of perspective, modelling, or accuracy of delineation.

Wherever the reverse side of a chasuble is exposed to view, the pattern is rendered in a much lighter value of the red or black that is used for the outer surface. Thus, the patterns on the linings of the chasubles of John Chrysostom and Gregory are gray, while those of Athanasius, Basil and Cyril are pink.

In general, the stoles, of heavy brocading, are similar to one another in design and color. There are variations in the fringing, but the fields are divided into rectangular units which tend to be repeated in all the stoles. The first and third units, beginning at the bottom, are in simple and large-scale motifs in which red and green gems and pearls are set. Rows of pearls are set in the borders between the units. The second unit in each case consists of foliate patterns (palmettes in those of Basil and Gregory). The

⁹⁷ The beard of Basil is especially black, with little highlighting in gray; that of Cyril is a very deep brown with highlights in fine lines of blue of various values.

⁹⁸ St. Athanasius occupies in the left side of the apse the equivalent central position to Gregory in the right side. What can now be seen of his head indicates that, as a type, he was similar to Gregory — high-domed forehead, rather thin hair, a rather square beard which seems also to have been similar to Gregory's in color. Moreover, the shading of his drapery folds is treated like those of Gregory.

fourth unit of the stole of St. Cyril is a small scale diaper pattern with many pearls at the intersections. The base color for the stoles, as for the books, sleevelets and mappulae, is a light earth-red with the designs painted over it in very dark red, almost black. The backgrounds of the palmette designs are also in the dark red. The colors used in the book covers, sleevelets and mappulae tend to be lighter in value than those in the stoles. They, too, are adorned with red and green gems and with pearls. The shoes worn by the Fathers are black.

The heads of the Fathers, being within relatively easy reach, had sustained some damage. It is apparent that attempts had been made, though not always successfully, to destroy their eyes. The head of Athanasius had two gouges, one in the area of the eye at the left, the other in the cheek on the same side. These and other gouges have been filled with new plaster, and toned to render them as unobtrusive as possible without, however, restoring any details in the painting. In addition, the head of Athanasius has lost most of its surface paint though here and there some traces of it, with the remains of the underpainting, still record the features in general. Both eyes of St. John are in good condition, but a gouge had occurred in the middle of the eyebrow at the right. A small restoration was also made in the half lights of the side of the nose at the left. Some small areas of inpainting occur in the point of the beard at the left and throughout the hair, all detectable in detail photographs. Losses owing to rotted straws are found in the neck and the cheek, near the ear, at the left. In the head of St. Basil, the following patches were applied to losses by gouging: in the eye at the left, including part of the eyebrow and part of the shadow beneath the eye; two patches above the eye at the right; another in the hair on the right; and one in the moustache at the left. These were given a simple neutral tone to make them inconspicuous. Many small losses of surface paint occur throughout. The eye at the right is in fair condition. In the head of St. Gregory the eye at the right is well preserved, but to the right of it is a patch which covers that end of the eyebrow and a small bit of the pupil and iris, and the upper part of the cheek. Another patch in the eye at the left covers all save the right side of the eyebrow and a very small point of the pupil, which remained unharmed. The rest of the face and beard are in very good condition. While there are losses at the outer points of the eyes of St. Cyril, only small parts of the eyes themselves were affected, and all the drawing is clear. A small restoration was made in the eyebrow and its shadow above the eye at the right, and there is another similar one in the left half of the eyebrow at the left and in the forehead above it. Other losses in paint are very small.

Above the two imposts of the triple window in the center of the apse are two pinwheel ornaments⁹⁹ (fig. 47 or 48) that are comparable to those between the pendentives on the cross axis beneath the dome.¹⁰⁰ The pinwheel at the right is shaped like an eight-pointed star (two squares, one placed vertically and horizontally, the other rotated at an angle of forty-five degrees). Folds radiate from the center to each of the sixteen angles of the pattern. Outside, the star is bordered by a narrow white line, then, in concentric zones, beginning with the outside, are bands of red, yellow, and green at the center, which form star within star. The pinwheel is given the effect of relief, and the folds are formed, by alternating dark and light values of these colors within each zone. The whole is enclosed by a circle of white, and the angles between the points are filled by three white dots.

The pinwheel at the left is formed to give the impression of a clockwise rotation and is more complicated. It is given the form of a twelve-pointed star by rotating three squares successively at thirty degrees. Twelve S curves pass through the center, and radiate to each of the points. These S curves are painted alternately red and green, each color divided into three concentric zones painted, from the outside inward, in light, medium, and dark values of these colors except that the dark zone for the green curves is painted black, thus creating an inner star of six points, each point shaped like a tongue. At the center is a white dot. At the ends of each of the S curves is a white bordering line or highlight. The whole pinwheel is enclosed within a white circle and, again, the angles between the points contain three white dots.

The dado at the base of the walls forms a continuous zone in imitation of marble incrustations between the floor and the zone of standing figures. It is best preserved in the right-hand side of the apse¹⁰¹ (fig. 45). The top member of the dado is a continuous border, .125 m. high, composed of an inverted crenellation, rendered in isometric to show false relief, as if seen from the left and below, and with all vertical elements drawn diagonally upward toward the left. The main tone is a light, cool, gray, and the shading is a darker value of the same gray. Outlining the crenellation is a narrow white line, and another serves to separate the border from the red borders of the zone of figures above. At the bottom of the top member, separating it from the rails of the panelling below, is a narrow line of dark gray.

⁹⁹ .26 m. in diameter.

¹⁰⁰ *Supra*, p. 184, and figs. 24, 29.

¹⁰¹ Its height, from top of step into bema to bottom of red border beneath the figure of the Virgin at the right, measures 1.32 m.

The horizontal and vertical members that form the skeletal frame for the panelling (the rails and stiles) average .09 m. in width, and skillfully imitate a mottled yellowish pink and white marble that is used among the various marbles in the actual revetments of the nave and in the floors of the church. These members are bordered on each side by bands of white about .025 m. wide. The V joints where the stiles are "let into" the rails are drawn in black paint.

The panels that fill the framework are systematically laid out in very good imitations of specific marbles, many of which are found in the marbles on the walls of the nave. Because the window at the center of the apse intrudes into the zone of the dado, the central panel beneath it is low and relatively broad.¹⁰² The left part of this panel has perished. The marble that is imitated here is richly veined in deep violet and yellow browns. The pendant panels at each side are .58 m. broad and .73 m. high, imitate verde antique, and represent single pieces. The next pair of pendant panels, further to the right and left, imitate Proconnesian marble, that is, with gray and white veins.¹⁰³ To the right of the one in the right side of the apse is another in verde antique. Finally, at the front extremity of the curved wall of the apse on the right is an imitation of a split marble panel, folded out to repeat the veining symmetrically. Elaborate veining is represented in yellow ochre, shading into red.

The return of the face of the apse to the wall of the bema at the right, and the narrow panel, about .25 m. wide along that wall, are painted to simulate Proconnesian marble. The main panel of the bema wall is a large one,¹⁰⁴ and is painted to represent a split marble slab, opened out in a symmetrical repeat of the veining. The veining is painted in off-white for the lighter veins, and in several values of brown with some touches of blue and a few lines of yellow and red for the darker veins.

The skirting at the base of the dado measured about .15 m. in height. The few surviving remnants show that it was gray with two black horizontal lines, in lieu of mouldings, dividing it into parts.

THE STANDING FIGURE OF THE VIRGIN AND CHILD (ELEOUSA) ON THE RIGHT WALL OF THE BEMA (Figures 50, 51)

The panel that completely covers the southern wall of the bema,¹⁰⁵ to the right of the Church Fathers, is devoted to a very fine, full-length,

¹⁰² It measures .48 m. in height and .81 m. in width.

¹⁰³ Of the panel in the left-hand side of the apse, little now remains. The other panels to the left have perished.

¹⁰⁴ Measuring .73 m. in height and 1.01 m. in width.

¹⁰⁵ Height of panel, from the bottom of the cornice to, and including, the white line be-

figure of the Virgin and Child of the Eleousa type. The figure stands in a zone of green ¹⁰⁶ upon a jeweled footstool, and turns in a three-quarters pose toward the left, in contrast to the strict frontality of the Fathers and the figures of other saints in the lower zone. The Child is held out in both horizontally-extended arms toward the left, as if in offering. The Virgin's head juts forward, reciprocating the Child's endearment as he bends his head sharply upward to lay his cheek against that of the Mother. The Child is supported at the haunches by both hands of the Mother as he leans forward, his right leg, bare to the knee, bending over the Mother's left forearm. The sole of his left foot, the only part of the leg that is visible, is seen almost *en face*. The Child's right arm is upraised to clutch at part of the Virgin's maphorion, near her neck, and his left hand, which emerges from the folds of his himation, grasps a small white scroll. The inscriptions of both figures are well preserved.

The Virgin wears a long blue tunic with long, tight, sleeves. In reality, the darker areas of the folds, which include much of the surface of the garment, are black (simply the black of the background), over which thin grays are sparingly applied. The outlining of the garment and the very darkest lines of the folds are deep black. Only the highlights, which are applied both as solid areas of color and as hatchings, are actually painted a light blue, and yet, the total color effect of the garment is blue. A small portion of the cuff of the tunic, painted in blue and black, is seen at the wrist.

Over her shoulders and head, the Mother wears a voluminous mantle and, as an outer-garment, a fringed maphorion, or shawl, both painted in identically the same red-violet. Except for the highlights, these garments are represented in three values of one color, and it is only in the middle value that one obtains the full effect of the red-violet color. The highlights are of two colors applied both as flat areas and in hatchings. The most extensive highlighting is a very light mixture of violet with so much white as to appear a gray-lavender. Many of the edges of the drapery folds are lighted by very narrow lines of bright yellow. The same yellow is used for the fringes that appear on the maphorion over the upper arm at the right. It is also used in the small stars at the forehead and shoulder.

Over the head and beneath the maphorion, the edging of the head-cloth appears in a narrow strip around the top of the Virgin's face. It is painted in narrow vertical stripes of black and gray with highlights for the stripes

neath the red border below the picture, is 2.29 m. Width of panel, including lateral red borders, is 1.565 m.

¹⁰⁶ The green zone is .56 m. high.

in white. The effect is that of alternate stripes of black and blue-gray. The Mother's shoes, which barely protrude beneath the tunic, are painted red.

The face and hands of the Virgin (fig. 51) are among the best preserved of the visages and renderings of flesh in the entire Parecclesion. The cheek, which has a good area of pink at the cheek-bone, shades into yellow, then into green and then, at the edge of the jaw, into a rather soft zone of brown. Highlights in white occur at the nose, brow, eyes, lips, chin, and neck. Browns and greens are used for the shadows of the features (eyes, nose, mouth, and jaw). Brownish red is used along the left edge of the nose and under the nostrils and the upper lip. The lower lip is in graded pinks. The irises of the eyes are brown; the pupils, black.

The only significant losses in the face are three very small areas between the eyebrows and a small area in the cheek that is a continuation of more serious damage done to the eyes of the Infant.

The infant Christ is clad in a white chiton and a yellow himation which is intended to imitate golden raiment. The chiton was first painted, as a base-color, in a greenish gray, perhaps containing some terre verte. This color is visible where no highlights occur, that is, in a zone between the girdle and the shoulders. The drapery folds are indicated in a darker value of the same color, and the effect of a white garment is provided by the highlights, primarily in the sleeve and below the girdle, in white which is very heavily applied. The girdle is blue-black. The Child's himation has slid off the shoulder, and is gathered around the waist in elaborate folds. The basic color is a rich brownish yellow. The outlining of the drapery folds is in brownish red lines. The highlights, both the solidly painted areas and the widely spaced rays that strike through the material in a diagonal direction, are painted in a rather bright yellow ochre.

Except for losses in the area of the eyes, the face of the Child is also well preserved. The colors and technique of painting are the same as in the face of the Mother. A complete loss occurs in a narrow strip that passes through both eyes, the nose, and carries a short distance into the cheek of the Virgin.¹⁰⁷ In addition there is a long scratch that passes from the head-dress of the Mother through the left part of her eye at the right, through both faces downward to the edge of the Child's shoulder. Another runs in a diagonal direction from the Mother's right cheek, through the tip of the Child's nose, and across his right cheek.

The top of the rectangular footstool upon which the Virgin stands is painted yellow ochre and bordered by a red line. The jeweled front and side edges are of two values of red, the side darker than the front. The

¹⁰⁷ The loss measures about .012 wide by .065 m. long.

square gems on the front are alternately green and red. Between them are large pearls (white impasto) in two rows. In the field of yellow ochre of the top of the footstool two blemishes are conspicuous at the level of the feet. These are mainly red discolorations caused by the heating of the yellow ochre by burning candles that had been placed close to the painting at these two points. Some black is also noticeable at these places, and in the area of the burn at the left some traces of wax still adhere to the painting. Three patches, or repairs, were made within the area of the footstool, one in the upper left, another in the lower part of the burn at the right, and the third slightly above and to the right of the latter. These repairs were toned yellow, but are clearly distinguishable.